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BOANERGES

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BOANERGES

BY

James RENDEL HARRIS

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PREFACE

IN publishing the present volume, I must confess that there are results arrived at, and other results adumbrated, which I did not anticipate when I set to work to arrange into something like order the mass of information which I had collected concerning the antiquity and wide diffusion of Twin-cults, and their influence upon religions past and present. The investigation, however, opened up from point to point, in a way that made it impossible for me to limit its scope or obscure its meaning. As often as I repeated to myself the warning to beware of the idea that one had found a master-key in mythology, so often some fresh door or window would open under the stress of the particular key that I was carrying; and it was necessary to go on with what one had begun, when the first stages of enquiry were so rich in results. However much one might elect to rest and be thankful over the elucidations which a knowledge of Twin-cults furnishes to the history of the Ancient Roman State or of the Modern Roman Church, we could not stop the investigation in mid-stream, and say that it should not be carried into the history of the Ancient Jewish State, or the Modern Christian Church. There was a harvest of results in the myths and legends of the Book of Genesis, which now for the first time became intelligible; but the pathway of the enquirer led on from Genesis into the books of the Maccabees; and by establishing Dioscurism for the period immediately preceding the Christian era, one was

able to take a flying leap into the very centre of the Gospel history. As said above, this was not what I originally expected or intended: but the motion of the enquiry could not be arrested. If we have really found a clue for the elimination of certain Gospel miracles from the pages of history, we must follow the clue as far as it can fairly be traced, on the ground that what is good for the Old Testament or for Judaism cannot necessarily be illicit for the New Testament or for Christianity. The value of the enquiry and its supposed results will be estimated later on by those who are more expert than ourselves in theological learning, and in the folk-lore which we have assumed to be a branch of theology.

No book that I have ever written has left me with a greater burden of indebtedness to my friends; they have furnished me with parallels and with facts from the four corners of the world and from the longest extension of time. It is impossible to name them all; here and there the reader will find an acknowledgement made for some service or information, or verified quotation. My own students, from their international character (Woodbrooke being a meeting place of the nations), have delved for me into the folk-lore of Europe, Asia, Australia, and America: if I mention one who has worked harder for me and brought home more spoil than others, it will be my friend, Mr R. H. D. Willey. Dr Glover, as in previous cases, has helped me with many wise suggestions, and with the elimination of many errors, typographical and otherwise. Mr F. G. Montagu Powell supplied me with an actual carved image of a dead twin, which he had obtained from his son, who is a doctor in Lagos. Dr Frazer gave me many a hint from his vast collection of folk-lore. Mr Fritz Krenkow helped me where I was altogether unfurnished, in the region of early Arabic literature. My Missionary friends,

too, in many a field of foreign service, found for me one desired link after another. From Miss Jane Harrison and Prof. Gilbert Murray I have had some wise criticisms and valuable confirmations. It has been difficult to acknowledge all that I received: but I tender grateful thanks to one and all, with the assurance that none of my friends is in any way involved in any discredit attaching to conclusions that I have drawn or suggested.

In two directions I should like to have improved the book; first, it has occasionally happened that a reference could not be verified, owing to the distance at which I live from the great libraries: second, it will be felt at many points, that the book ought to have been illustrated; the expense has deterred me from an adornment of the pages which I recognise to be almost necessary.

For the first time in my life I have made an index to my book, for which, rough as it is, my readers will be grateful.

RENDEL HARRIS.

Woodbrooke,
Selly Oak.
1 *August* 1913.

ERRATA

p. 61, l. 3, *for* contrast *read* compare.
p. 63 note, *add* sets *after* Benîn.
p. 78, l. 19, *for* Cessou *read* Ceston, and again l. 25.
p. 213, note [1], *for* Larkey *read* Larkby.
p. 241, note, *for* J. H. Allen *read* J. H. Allan.
p. 284, note [3], *for* Sauve *read* Sauvé, and corr. ref. to v. 157 ff.
p. 287, l. 12, *for* Xenophon *read* Xanthippos.

INTRODUCTION

In the present treatise, I propose to make a more extended study of the *Cult of the Heavenly Twins* than I was able to attempt in my previous investigations into the subject. It was inevitable that the discovery which I made of the existence of pairs of twin saints in the Church calendars, and which led back naturally to the place of the Heavenly Twins in the religions of Greece and Rome, should require to be approached from the side of anthropology rather than from that of ecclesiastical or classical culture, as soon as it became clear that the phenomena under examination were world wide, and that the religious practices involved were the product of all the ages of human history. At the same time, I do not want to discuss the subject altogether *de novo*, nor have I the expectation of writing the one book on this particular subject. The banquet of research at which I am seated is likely to be one of many courses: if I could fancy myself beginning once more at the first course, I have no prospect of sitting the feast out *ab ovo usque ad mala*. Indeed, I am reasonably sure that I shall never get to the apples at all, and on that ground might well be absolved from the completeness which one naturally desires in the study of a single compartment of knowledge. For these reasons, then, I think it best to assume some of the results which I have arrived at in previous books and articles on the subject, and to use these results as a basis for further study, making such changes as may be necessary in the light of clearer knowledge, and confirming previous enquiries made in limited areas by the parallels which are supplied by a wider knowledge of the world and of the history of man.

My first book on the Twin-Cult was an expansion of a short course of lectures given in Cambridge in the year 1903. It was entitled the *Dioscuri in the Christian Legends.* Starting from the observation that there was a tendency in human nomenclature to express by similarity of sound or by parallelism of meaning the twin relationship, it was suggested (and this was the real point of departure in the enquiry) that Florus and Laurus in the Byzantine and other calendars were twins. Vespasian's retort upon a courtier who had corrected him for saying *plostrum* instead of *plaustrum* by calling him *Flaurus* instead of *Florus*, may be used to illustrate the pronunciation of the names.

Florus and Laurus twin-saints;

It was then noted that amongst the Russian peasantry *Florus* and *Laurus* (or as they say *Frol* and *Lavior*) are regarded as the patron saints of horses, which led to the next suggestion that they were the representatives of the Great Twin-Brethren of pre-Christian times.

with care of horses;

That they were twins was confirmed by a reference to their Acts in the Synaxaria of the Greek Church, where they were described as twin-brethren, who were of the craft of stone-masons, the day of their celebration being the 18th of August.

they were stone-masons.

This might have been confirmed by calendars of the Syrian Church; for example, in the Paris Syriac MS. 142, they are commemorated as follows:

18th of Ab. Commemoration of the holy martyrs, the twin-brethren Laurus and Florus.

Ab was, of course, the substitute for August, when the festival was taken over, and it is to be observed that it was as twins that they were in the first instance commemorated in Syria.

The next fact betrayed by the Church calendars, was that the 18th of August was the day on which the Greek Church honours St Helena, the mother of Constantine, which immediately suggested that the Cult of the Twins was accompanied by a cult of their sister; Castor and Pollux, as Florus and Laurus, being ecclesiastically attached to their

sister Helen, who has now become the Dowager Empress of Byzantium. Cult of Helen.

The next step was to show why the Byzantine hagiologists describe the twins as stone-masons, rather than as horse riders or horse-rearers, as in Homer and elsewhere; or since the Russian connection between the Twins and horses was probably primitive, we had to ask the question whether the Heavenly Twins were builders in stone as well as tamers of horses. The latter was well known, not only from Homeric references to horse-taming Castor, but also from the parallel cults in ancient Greece and in India (where the Twins are actually known as *Açvinau* or the *Dual Horsemen*). The other part of the identification was made for Castor and Pollux, from Greek traditions of cities that they had built, and of cities that they had destroyed: in particular it was shown that the title Λαπέρσαι, which had been given to them in ancient times, and was commonly interpreted by the scholiasts as the *Destroyers of the City Las*, was a misunderstanding of an original *Stone-Workers*. And a comparison with kindred myths, such as that of the Theban twins, Zethus and Amphion, confirmed the belief that the twins were builders of cities, and patrons and inventors of architecture. By this time, the questions of the origin, meaning, and diffusion of the Twin-Cult were moved into a wider field. The Greek parallels showed that the worship of the Great Twin-Brethren was not confined to Sparta, nor to Dorian colonies. The Indian parallels suggested that the myth might go back to the origins of the Aryan race. The Twins were found in Persia as well as in India, and, if we examined the Vedic hymns, we could deduce such a variety of useful offices discharged by the twins, as to make it certain that a cult, which we find so highly differentiated, must be of extreme antiquity. Heavenly Twins are builders.

It was then shown that a cult of the same kind had been described by Tacitus, as prevailing among the Naharvali in Eastern Europe (perhaps in Lithuania), and that the existing folk-songs of the Lettish people describe certain *Sons of God* who ride upon horses, and who are identified, Twin-Brethren among the Naharvali.

from certain points of view, with the Morning Star, and the Evening Star. This discovery was important, not only for its confirmation of the observation of Tacitus, who said that the young men named Alcis amongst the Lithuanians were honoured as Castor and Pollux amongst the Romans, but also because it suggested that there was an earlier stage of stellar identification which preceded that of the well-known stars in the constellation Gemini. It was clear that at one time the Aryan race did not know that the Morning Star was the same as the Evening Star; and because they were alike, they were treated as twins, rather than as the same star. Moreover, they never appeared in the East and West on the same night, but, as it was said, when one was up, the other was down, and conversely, which led at once to the beautiful story of the divided immortality of Castor and Pollux in the Greek mythology. This strange belief in the duality of the planet Venus was illustrated subsequently on a journey across Asia Minor, when I could not find anyone who was aware that the Morning Star was the same as the Evening Star. The Greeks themselves seem to have arrived at this knowledge quite late.

Twins half mortal, half immortal.

We are now able to detect the earlier belief which lay behind the Greek legend of the divided immortality of Castor and Pollux, and to suspect that in each case of a pair of Great Twin Brethren, one of the pair was mortal and the other was immortal; this was due, not to a study of the stars, but to the dual paternity, which had affected the mother of twins, one parent being an immortal god, and the other a mortal man. This observation turned out to be very important; it was not suspected at the time, as proved afterwards to be the case, that the belief in question was not confined to the Aryan race, but that, in some form or other, the dual paternity theory could be illustrated from the most uncivilized and savage races that exist upon the planet; so that we need not have begun our enquiry with ancient histories or with classical writers; we might have begun it with the modern missionary and traveller engaged in work for and observations of the rudest peoples. This point was

to come out more clearly at a later stage. It is interesting to note that in these investigations the Zodiac had already been left far behind; whatever may be the reason for including the Heavenly Twins in the Zodiac, or in an early calendar of months, we were not dealing with Babylonian myth-making, but with something much earlier. In the history of the Twins, the elevation to a Zodiacal peerage is almost the last honour that is conferred upon them.

Twins in the Veda.

The next step in the enquiry was to collect from the Vedic literature the varied functions discharged by the Twin-Brethren, some of which could be paralleled at once from Western twin-cults. The principal of these functions were:

(1) To save from darkness:

(2) To restore youth and remove senility:

(3) To protect in battle:

(4) To act as physicians (especially as miracle-workers, in healing the blind, the lame, etc.):

(5) To be the patrons of the bride-chamber, and bless newly married people:

(6) To promote fertility in men, as well as in animal life and in plant life (as by the invention of the plough and the bestowal of the rain and dew):

(7) To protect travellers by land and sea, under which latter head their fame became great in the Mediterranean, where, indeed, it subsists even to the present day.

It has already been intimated that a cult so highly evolved has antiquity written large upon it: it must go back to the earliest pages of human history. A superficial objection has been, however, made to some of the characteristics here recognised as denoting the Twin-Horsemen, on the ground that the functions assigned to them really belong to other gods, as, for instance, rain-making to Indra, and military prowess to other gods; so that we ought not to emphasise their functions so strongly on the ground of occasional Vedic references, and it is even said that, in any case, more proof

is required that the Vedic Horsemen are the Dioscuri. The objection may be noted; it will answer itself as the enquiry proceeds: when it has been shown that similar beliefs can be traced all over the rest of the world, we shall not be able to insulate India, or even Palestine. It may, however, be remarked in passing, that the variety of functions assigned to the Great Twins is just as marked in the West as in the East: though their place in the pantheon of Olympus is barely recognised, they share functions with almost every Olympic god: but it is not they who are encroaching upon the Olympians: every one knows, by this time, that, with some exceptions, it is the Olympians who are modern: the overlapping in function between them and the Twins arises from the fact that the religious stratum which appears in the Olympic religion is superposed upon earlier strata, which it does not wholly cover: and when the antiquity of the Twin-Cult is demonstrated, there is no difficulty in their exercising powers of divination with Athena, or going hunting after the fashion of Artemis. With Zeus they share antiquity as well as function, and the latter because they are Dioscuri, *Zeus' boys.*

Twins earlier than Olympic religion.

To return to the investigation in *Dioscuri and the Christian legends.* The attempt to classify the functions which the Dioscuri exercised both in the East and the West, led to a startling result in another quarter of the Christian world. It is well known that legend had been busy with St Thomas and with his place in the propagation of Christianity in the East, say from Edessa to India. These legends occur in an early Syriac document, called by the name of the *Acts of Thomas,* which gives the story of St Thomas' apostolate in native Syriac, showing no signs of a translation. It is well known that the name Thomas means nothing more or less than Twin; and when we read the account of his mission, we find him discharging Dioscuric functions all along the line. He can build palaces and temples and tombs; he can make ploughs and yokes, and masts for ships; he can tame animals for driving, and he can act as the patron of a wedding; to say nothing of other

Dioscuri in *Acts of Thomas.*

powers and interests not so obviously Dioscuric. In all these functions he has with him as his immortal companion and counterpart, similar in every respect to himself, the Lord Jesus; and although the scribes of the Acts have tried to obliterate the startling statement, he is, over and over again, recognised as being the Twin of the Messiah. Attempts on the part of the scribes to substitute a slightly different word, to read *Abyss of the Messiah*, or *Ocean-flood of the Messiah* (*Tehoma* for *Tauma*), only serve by their unintelligibility to bring more strongly into relief the fact that in the earliest days of the Syrian Church at Edessa, Jesus and Thomas were regarded as Twin-Brethren. They were, in consequence, the Dioscures of the City: and there was raised the interesting question whether we could find the original Dioscures, whom they might be assumed to have displaced, in the same way as Castor and Pollux were displaced in the West by Florus and Laurus and other pairs of saints. It was well known that the chief religion at Edessa was Solar, in which the Sun was honoured along with two assessors, named Monim and Aziz. The names appear to be Semitic, but there can be little doubt that they correspond to the Twin-Brethren of the Aryan religions: in particular, their close relation to the Sun-god, shows them to be parallel to the two torch bearers of the Mithraic monuments, one of whom stands with a torch raised, and the other with his torch depressed, and who are known by the names of Cautes and Cautopates. As, however, in spite of the similarity of these names, which suggests twinship, nothing was known as to the meaning of the names, nor as to the functions which they discharged, we could not take the final step of identifying Monim and Aziz with Cautes and Cautopates. The Mithraic or Persian figures remained over for further investigation. It was, however, fairly established that the Edessan religion had Dioscuric features. It is inconceivable that there should be so many twin-traits in the *Acts of Thomas* unless the writer had been using Jesus and Thomas to replace some other pair of Great Brethren.

Twins at Edessa.

In this connection we tried to establish the existence of

Twin pillars at Edessa.

the Dioscuric stars on the coinage of Edessa, and to show that the two great pillars, which still rise above the city from the ramparts of its citadel, were votive pillars in honour of the Twins, and it was suggested that the Syriac inscription on one of the pillars could be read in that sense. Under both these heads there was something wanting to the argument; the numismatic evidence was susceptible of other interpretations and the decipherment of the inscription on the pillar was challenged by Prof. Burkitt on an important point. So that, here again, caution and repeated investigation were necessary. The main points as to the existence of Dioscuric worship at Edessa are quite clearly made out. The Twins were there from old time, and they were replaced by Jesus and Thomas. That was the chief result of the enquiry, and, it need hardly be said, it raised at once the question whether the Twins had been similarly displaced elsewhere, and whether Jesus and Thomas were really Twins, or whether they were only treated as such by the hagiologist, for the sake of the good results that would follow in the depaganisation of Edessa.

Collaterally, again, the question was raised as to the place of the Twin-Cult in the Semitic religion. Edessa, itself, was in ancient times a meeting point of religions: it is so, almost as decidedly, to-day. We must not, however, assume Semitic ancestry for the Twins because they are called Monim and Aziz: these might be only names given by the Edessan Arabs to the Aryan or Parthian Twins. The question as to the existence of Twins in Semitic religion has to be investigated on its own merits, as, for instance, in Phoenicia (though we are not quite sure that Phoenicia is originally Semitic) and in Palestine and Arabia. On these points also further enquiry was to be desired.

In the volume which followed, named the *Cult of the Heavenly Twins* (published in 1906), the enquiry was resumed: and this time, instead of beginning with the pairs of twin-saints under ecclesiastical disguise in the Calendar, I began at the opposite end of the evolution of the cult, with a study of the Taboo of Twins, which prevails to this day

among savage tribes, and constitutes their greatest Fear or Supreme Reverence, and so furnishes the basis from which the evolution of Natural Religion must inevitably proceed. It was shown, in the first instance, that the Taboo in question, which can be traced through almost all elementary races, involved in its earliest stage the destruction of the mother of the twins, the twins themselves, and of the house and the chattels which might conceivably have been infected by the Taboo. From this simple solution of the problem raised by the great Fear for the Savage, we passed on to consider those subsequent stages of reflection in which reason was sought for the phenomenon, and for the best way of dealing with it, and measures of mitigation were proposed for the severity with which the unfortunate causes of the Taboo were treated. It became more and more clear that this initial application of reason, which started from the observation that the mother had either done or suffered something dreadful, resulted in the hypothesis of a double paternity, of the kind which is common in Greek and Roman mythology; only the second father was not yet become an Olympian: he was, perhaps, only a spirit, or the externalised soul of some person or thing, or an animal—by preference a bird. It was natural that the hypothesis of dual parentage should lead to some difference in the treatment of the children; if only one was abnormal, a very elementary instinct of justice would suggest that only one should be killed. From this point the progress of humane feeling was seen in the further development of lenity in the substitution of exile for death, or its equivalent, exposure. The mother and children are now isolated, and the result of their isolation is to make their retreat in wood or in island, into a sanctuary: thus, from the taboo on twins, there arose the sanctuary rights of Twin-towns. It was suggested that these Twin-towns, which still exist in their earliest simplicity in parts of Africa, were at one time very common in Europe, and that Rome itself was such a sanctuary. An important discovery was then made, that the Taboo on Twins is not always interpreted as Evil, but that there are tribes to-day

Twin-cults among elementary races.

Formation of Twin-towns.

which regard Twins as a blessing, though they show, by their purifications of the persons involved, and of the community in which they appear, that the second interpretation either leans upon the first, which it has corrected, or, which is perhaps the more accurate way of stating the case, that the primitive Fear, aroused by the uncommon or abnormal event, has been explained in two opposite senses. It is curious that, to this day, tribes which are locally almost contiguous, will take opposite views of the perplexing phenomenon. Those which think twins a blessing appear to do so, because they find them serviceable; they, with their mother, stand for abnormal fertility, which is thought of as contagious; and they are credited with control of the influences which make for fertility, which gives them at once a place of authority, because of their usefulness, in the tribes where they are born. The next important step was the discovery that there were tribes in S.E. Africa, which had referred the parentage of both the twins to the Sky (or perhaps to its equivalent, the Thunder) and that the Twins had obtained, through this parentage, the title of Sky-children, or Thunder-children. We are now at a stage in the evolution of the cult which must have been very nearly that of the ancestors of the Greeks, when they gave to their idealised Twin-Brethren, the title of Dioscuri, or Zeus' boys. From this point, the investigation proceeds with comparative ease, the more savage interpretations of twinship being now left behind, except for stray survivals of ancient customs; and an increasing sense is developed of the greatness, and goodness, and usefulness of the Twins, as being, either wholly or in part, the descendants and representatives of the Sky-god.

Twins children of the Sky.

It was now possible to explain why the Twins had such a prominent place in agriculture, and amongst the tribal rain-makers. Successive inventions could be directly traced to them, and they became the patrons of sexual acts and the restorers of lapsed sexual functions. They acquired mantic gifts, and became prophets and healers; they used their relation to the all-seeing Heaven to determine whether men

Various functions of twins.

spoke truly, and became the patrons of trust, and of commerce which reposes on trust, and the punishers of perjury. In cases where the twins were not, both of them, credited to celestial parentage, it was natural that steps should be taken to define, if possible, the Immortal one of the pair, and to distinguish him from his less favoured brother. Traces were found of favourite forms of differentiation, such as Red and White, Rough and Smooth, Strong and Weak, Mechanic or Artist, or by the discrimination of names expressing either the priority of one twin over the other, or their special characteristics. The naming of twins was evidently a subject deserving further and closer attention. The use of assonant names was especially noticed.

The rest of the book was chiefly devoted to the expansion and verification of the former thesis that the ecclesiastical calendar was full of cases of disguised twins, who were, presumably, transferred to the service of the Church from the Dioscuric cults which prevailed all over Europe before the introduction of Christianity. The most interesting cases were those of Cosmas and Damian, Protasius and Gervasius, the Tergemini at Langres (Speusippus and his brethren), Nearchus and Polyeuctes. A further enquiry was made into the case of Judas Thomas; and some explanations were given of the symbols proper to represent the Dioscuri in Sparta and elsewhere.

Twins in the calendar.

It will be seen that the investigations, which we have thus briefly summarised, had thrown a great light upon the history of that branch of human culture, which we now call Dioscurism. Much still remained to be cleared up, both with regard to the savage origins, and with regard to the ecclesiastical disguises of the cult: special investigation was also necessary in explanation of certain functions discharged by the Heavenly Twins, which did not seem to have any connection with savage life, or with savage explanations of life. To take a single case of one of the most widespread Dioscuric functions, the protection of sailors in the Mediterranean and elsewhere, it was by no means obvious how such

a function should have fallen to the lot either of twins, or the descendants of twins. The same thing appears in the functions of chariot-driving and horse-training: we may easily prove these functions to exist over wide areas; but we cannot easily prove that they were implicit in the archaic cult. These and similar enquiries remain over, to be discussed more carefully as we know our Twins better, and as we cease to be satisfied with merely recording the facts, without giving a reason for the facts.

Twins protect sailors.

In order to solve the question as to why the Heavenly Twins became the special patrons of sailors, and are so, to some extent, even to the present day, it did not seem to me to be adequate to label the Twins as Universal Saviours, and then deduce from that title one of their most striking functions; nor did it seem sufficient to say that the respect paid by sailors to the Twins was due to the control which the Twins exercised over the weather by their affiliation with the Sky-god; for we found them exercising their art over inland waters and streams, as well as over open seas, and in those cases the control of the weather seemed hardly an adequate motive. Accordingly I proceeded to make a further study of the Dioscuri as Sea-Saints, and discovered that there were not a few cases in which it could be proved that the Twins had definitely come down-stream, and had been honoured on rivers before ever they came to be revered at sea: an interesting case was that of Romulus and Remus, who are still worshipped on the Riviera as San Romolo and San Remo, and under other disguises can easily be recognised on the Atlantic sea-board and elsewhere.

Twins as River-Saints.

These results were presented to the Oxford Congress for the History of Religions in 1908, and were published in the *Contemporary Review* in January of the following year. Many new illustrations were given, not only of the general thesis that the Dioscuri were River-Saints before they were Sea-Saints, but also of their care of navigation in dangerous shallows and straits, and of their patronage of harbours and of lighthouses.

Some of these points may be re-stated in the following pages: but at present it is to be noticed that in taking the Dioscuri up-stream and inland, we had definitely abandoned the idea that the reason of their nautical activity lay in their care of the weather. We shall, therefore, be obliged to seek for another solution, and we shall find it before very long. We are to go up the stream of time, as well as to ascend the great rivers: we must go back to the time before man had donned the 'robur et aes triplex,' which, Horace says, must have been the equipment of the first navigator; we must proceed as if the sea did not exist, and search for simpler experiments than those which made Horace wonder: and as the stream of time is ascended by us, the Twins are to ascend with us, and help us to the explanation of their various functions. It does not, at first sight, seem likely that the art of navigation can be proved to be a Dioscuric art from its first inception, but this is the direction in which the ship's head (the ship itself being now much diminished) appears to be pointing.

Now let us make the briefest possible summary of the results already arrived at, so that in the following pages we may see how to confirm them and how to extend them, where to limit the area or the time to which they are to be referred, and where to extend and make universal the facts which have come to our knowledge. The following summary, necessarily incomplete, will assist our further investigations.

The appearance of Twins is regarded by primitive man with aversion: they are a great Fear, a Taboo. The mother of such twins, and the twins themselves, must be killed: the settlement must be purified from the Taboo. She, the mother, is either a criminal or a victim; she has had connection with a spirit, or the numen residing animistically in some object; perhaps it was a bird, perhaps it was the thunder, or the lightning, or the sky.

Alleviations are proposed; spare one child (but which?), spare the mother. Exile the mother and kill the children: exile the mother and the children, to an island or a village

of their own: make a twin-island, or twin-sanctuary, or twin-village, or place of refuge.

Or perhaps they are not bad at all; then do not kill them: use purificatory rites and revere them; perhaps they are the children, one of them at least, of the Sky, or the Thunder. Then they can help with rain-making, and their mother, by contact, can fertilise fields and plants and crops. Primitive agriculture is of the woman; how much more is it of the woman who has borne twins! Perhaps they will show us how to make digging-sticks and ploughs. As they are fertile they will help women who are going to have offspring, and men and women who are past having any. If their father is the Sky the boys will get rain from him; and he will help them to find stolen property (for he sees and knows everything), and to know if men speak truly: and they will help trading (for the merchants can deposit their goods securely in the neighbourhood of their sanctuaries), and they will punish lying. As they know what their father knows, they will tell us in dreams things that we ought to know, and the medicines that we ought to apply to our diseases; and we will make images of them by which we may keep them in remembrance, and make our salutations before them.

This is a brief summary of the facts already collected about Twins.

CHAPTER I

BOANERGES

As is well known, the title which we place at the head of this chapter is the name which is given in the Gospel of Mark to James and John, the two sons of Zebedee, and which is explained by the Evangelist as meaning 'Sons of Thunder.' Neither of the two other Synoptic writers, Matthew and Luke, transfers this statement of Mark to his pages. It may, perhaps, be inferred that they found the explanation unintelligible or objectionable. The only other ancient Christian writing in which it occurs is in Justin Martyr's *Dialogue with Trypho*, where Justin professes to be giving information from the *Memoirs of the Apostles*, and was, therefore, either working directly from the Petrine tradition in Mark, or from some collateral tradition[1]: in either case, the antiquity of the statement is confirmed; and the probability that Justin's source is Mark will be increased when we observe that they appear to share in a peculiar and perhaps corrupt form of spelling for the name.

Sons of Thunder.

The difficulties attaching to the Marcan statement relate, first, to the form of the spelling; second, to the meaning of its equivalent translation.

As there seemed to be no Hebrew word exactly answering to the termination *-reges* or *-erges*, those of the early Fathers who were scholars could do little with the linguistic problem, and it was reserved for Jerome to suggest that, as the word

[1] Justin, *Dial.* 106. 'He changed the name of one of the Apostles and called him Peter: and in his (Peter's) memoirs it is also recorded to have happened, that he changed the name of the sons of Zebedee to Sons of Thunder (Boanerges).'

for Thunder in Hebrew is *re'em*, where the middle letter (Ayin) is often transliterated in Greek by *g*, an error had been made in the final consonant of a Semitic word: *Boane-* would, then, be an attempt to transliterate, from some dialect or other, the word for 'Sons of,' which we commonly write B'nē.

It is possible that Jerome's is the right solution. It may, however, be suggested, that there is a closely related root in the Arabic language, which may furnish us the necessary explanation; the word *ragasa* (رجس) means to 'roar aloud,' 'to thunder[1].' Perhaps, then, this is the root that we are in search of.

Turn, now, to the explanation which Mark gives of the matter. He tells us to equate the transliterated Semitic word with 'Sons of Thunder'; and we shall see that no room is left for reasonable doubt as to what was meant by the peculiar appellation given to the two young men.

None of the Fathers, however, seems to have had any suspicion as to the true meaning; and the modern commentators are as much at sea as their patristic antecedents. The common method of interpretation is to compare the forceful actions and utterances of James and John with the thunder. Thus, in the recently discovered scholia of Origen on the Apocalypse, when Origen comes to discuss the seven thunders in c. 10, *v.* 3, and the proposal to incorporate the voices of these seven thunders in the Apocalypse, he remarks parenthetically that 'if you enquire into the case of the Sons of Thunder, James and John, whom Jesus called Boanerges, that is, Sons of Thunder, you will find them very properly called Sons of Thunder on account of the loud voice of their ideas and doctrines[2].'

Origen on Boanerges.

The same line is taken among the moderns by Dr Swete, who tells us[3] that 'in the case of James, nothing remains to

[1] The same word occurs in Hebrew (? Aramaic) in the second Psalm, 'Wherefore do the heathen rage?' as our translators imitatively rendered the word. Cf. the Latin, Quare *fremuerunt* gentes?

[2] *Texte u. Untersuch.* xxxviii. 3, p. 40.

[3] *Comm. on Mark*, iii. 17.

justify the title beyond the fact of his early martyrdom, *probably due to the force of his denunciations* (Acts xii. 2): John's *νοητὴ βροντή* (Orig. *Philoc.* xv. 18) is heard in Gospel, Epistles, and Apocalypse.'

It is not necessary to examine into any further explanations, either ancient or modern, of the perplexing Boanerges, since it is clear that 'Sons of Thunder' is quite intelligible from the standpoint of folk-lore, and means that the persons so named were either actually twins or so twin-like in appearance or action, that they might appropriately be spoken of as 'the twins.' As the results which will follow this identification are of the highest importance, it will be well to set down some of the confirmations of the correctness of the interpretation. Can we find 'sons of thunder' elsewhere, either exactly so named or in equivalent language? Can we find either 'sons of the sky,' or 'sons of lightning,' as parallels to the Boanerges? And if they are found, is there any evidence which suggests that the idea that twins were children of the thunder was as much at home in Palestine as in the outside world? The first and most obvious remark to be made is that the expression is *quam proxime* the equivalent of the title by which the Spartan Twins were known; for 'Dioscuri' is literally 'Zeus' boys,' and while it is common to explain Zeus etymologically as the equivalent of the bright sky (Dyaus), everyone knows that the actual Zeus is just as much the Thunder as he is the Bright Sky; in Graeco-Roman circles he is, in fact, the thunder-god rather than the sky-god; and, as might be expected, when we move into regions further north it is the Thunder-god whom we meet in the person of Thor, and not the bright sky at all. The fact is that the original notion of 'sky' involved the idea of 'thunder'; and just as in the African tribes of to-day, one word did duty for both.

Twins as Zeus' Boys.

We shall see, by-and-by, when we examine into the cult of the Heavenly Twins more closely, that in almost every case in which the Twins are represented, in art, in worship, by an attached priesthood, or by appropriate sacrifices, one colour

dominates the representations, the red colour of the lightning. There is not the slightest objection to the equation of the Greek Dioscuri with the Children of the Thunder.

Bana-ba-Tilo.

To take the matter a step further: it has been shown that amongst the Baronga tribes in Portuguese East Africa, it is the custom to attach to twins, when born, the collective name of 'Bana-ba-Tilo,' or 'children of Tilo,' where the word 'Tilo' is used for 'sky' in the general sense, including the thunder and lightning, and possibly the rain. And it was evident, as soon as attention was drawn to it, that we had here in an African tribe the very same nomenclature of twins which we find for the special ideal twins, Castor and Pollux, amongst the Greeks. It is curious that Dr Frazer, who had studied the account of the Baronga customs given by M. Junod, the Swiss missionary, did not notice the equivalence between Bana-ba-Tilo and Dioscuri, until I pointed it out to him; and he promptly retorted upon my own lack of vision by remarking that in that case we had the explanation of the perplexing Boanerges in the New Testament. We had between us arrived at the equivalence:

Boanerges = Dioscuri = Bana-ba-Tilo!

We shall have to refer to the Baronga tribes again for other features of the twin-cult: at the present point, all that is necessary is to show how widespread is the idea that twins are to be assigned, either wholly or in part, to the parentage of the thunder[1].

Twins in Palestine.

Now let us return to Palestine. If we take the Survey map of the Palestine Exploration Society, we shall find a village not far from Jaffa, marked by the name of *Ibn Abraq* or *Ibraq*. It is four or five miles from Jaffa, and a little to the north of the road that leads from Jaffa to Jerusalem. The name means 'Son of Lightnings,' and suggests at once a classification with the 'Sons of Thunder' that we are discussing: only, in that case, we should expect a dual or a plural in the Arabic. Now let us look at the book of

[1] M. Junod's work, *Les Ba-ronga*, étude ethnographique sur les indigènes de la Baie de Delagoa, was published at Neuchâtel in 1898 in vol. 10 of *Bulletin de la Société Neuchâteloise de Géographie*.

Joshua xix. 45, where we shall find a series of place-names in the tribe of Dan and amongst them *Jehud* and *Bnē-Baraq* and *Gath-Rimmon*. Here we have the name in its original form, with the desired plural, while the worship of the thunder is further attested by the presence in the neighbourhood of a place which is compounded with that of the Thunder-god (Rimmon). We need not, therefore, hesitate to say that there was an ancient town in Palestine, not far from Jaffa, which was named after the Heavenly Twins. Further confirmation will be found in the great inscription of Sennacherib, which mentions a town *Bana-ai-bar-qa* in connection with *Joppa* and *Beth-dagon*. We are sure, then, that such a town as was named *Sons of Lightning* existed from the earliest times in Western Palestine.

We have now to investigate further the meaning of this peculiar appellation: and it seems as if it could be only one of three things: either (*a*) it is a settlement of people coming from elsewhere, and bringing with them the name of their protector-gods, much as the Greeks gave the name of Tyndaris to a settlement in Sicily, in honour of the Tyndaridae, or Sons of Tyndareus (Castor and Pollux); or (*b*) it is a place-name of the same category as a number of Dioscuric shrines, where sailors made appeal and presented votive offerings, the position of such sanctuaries being determined by dangerous rocks, shallows, and straits; or (*c*) it is a primitive sanctuary of the Twins, and a twin-town, similar to those which are being formed by exiled twin-mothers and their children in West Africa at the present day.

Of these explanations the second is the most probable, for, as is well known, the shore at Jaffa has outside it a dangerous reef of rocks which was certain to require a special oversight on the part of those who have the care of sailors. Perhaps the actual position of the modern village *Ibn Ibraq* is moved somewhat from its original site. We should have expected the Dioscureion to be on high ground, especially if it served as lighthouse and look-out station as well as shrine. Here, then, we have, and again

on Palestinian soil, a decided memory of Twin-cult. It may, perhaps, be urged that the village belongs to the Philistines and their cult, and in the same way that the Boanerges of Galilee are Aryan and not Semitic. That may be so, but our first business is to find them; if we want to get them out of the Holy Land again, that will come later, and will require special proof, which will perhaps not be forthcoming. Wherever these commemorated twins come from, they are to be studied along with the similar phenomena that are being recorded and observed all over the world. There must be no preliminary exclusion of the Holy Land.

Twins in Cyrene.

For instance, it is well known that Cyrene and the Cyrenaica are under the protection of the Dorian twins, and that the Cyrenians regarded themselves, when they posed as Greek, as being a Dorian colony. Hence they put on their coins stars, horses and the silphium plant, which are the sacred symbols of the Dioscuri[1]. But it must be noted that they had other than Spartan reasons for the cult of the Twins, for just off their coast lay the Great Syrtis, one of the chief perils to ancient navigation, which we remember to have been dreaded when the tempestuous wind Euraquilo swept St Paul's ship across the Mediterranean from Crete to Africa. Amongst the famous cities of the Pentapolis we find the name of Barca, which again reminds us by its name and by its coins, that the city was named after the Children of the Lightning. And this name is Semitic and not Dorian Greek; so that we hesitate to ascribe the cult of the Twins in the Cyrenaica only to Dorian (Spartan) colonizers[2]. It is much more likely to be Phoenician first

[1] e.g. Hunter Collection, no. 36 (Cyrene): a coin showing silphium plant between two stars etc.

[2] The recognition of Cyrene as a cult centre for twin-worship has a literary as well as a numismatic interest. When the author of the second book of Maccabees epitomized the five books of Jason of Cyrene, his first section was concerned with the attempt of Heliodorus to rob the temple at Jerusalem, and his repulse by certain young men, who have been recognised as the Dioscuri, slightly disguised as angels. But in that case, Jason must have given the first place to this incident, and this is natural enough, for he was writing in Cyrene and for Cyrenian readers, who would understand perfectly the kind of interposition which he was recording, and be predisposed to accept his interpretation.

and Dorian after. In the same way the Twins of Bnē Barqa may be Palestinian first and Philistian or Phoenician afterwards. A somewhat similar case, of the carrying of the Twins by colonization, will be found in the Spanish city *Barcelona*, whose ancient name *Barkinon* shows that it was a Punic settlement. It is not inconceivable, therefore, that in the neighbourhood of Jaffa, Phoenician navigators or settlers should have established a shrine or a sanctuary or a settlement, named after the Twins, and we shall see later an abundant evidence of the Twin Cult in Phoenicia itself. If, on the other hand, it should be urged that the colony (if it was a colony) was Philistian, and came originally from Crete, we shall be equally able to establish Twin-worship for the early civilization of that famous island. And, in brief, whoever may have been the people that were responsible for the settlement and naming of Bnē Barqa, the name itself can only stand for the Heavenly Twins, considered as the Sons of the Lightning. We have, then, the companion term of the highest antiquity for the Boanerges of the New Testament. Nor does there seem any reasonable doubt as to the accuracy of our interpretation.

At this point, however, it becomes necessary to stop and consider more closely the forms under which thunder and lightning were regarded by primitive mankind, and the characteristics which they attributed to them. One caution may be expressed before we turn to this investigation. It has been suspected that in attributing twins to the parentage of the Thunder, whether one or both of them be so honoured, that we are on a plane of human evolution, where the facts of racial propagation are not regarded as established in final form, and according to an unvarying law. Parentage, for the primitive man, can come from anywhere: from natural forces, and unusual objects and events. The wind was credited with the fecundation of mares; the Egyptian bull Apis was conceived from a lightning flash, if we may believe Herodotus. Amongst the North American Indians, we find parentage imagined

in the most diverse forms. And it seems certain, therefore, that there may be cases where single births are credited to the Thunder and the Lightning, as well as dual births. We must not dogmatically affirm that every Son of Thunder is necessarily a twin.

Thunder-god in ancient Damascus.

To take a single example: the Aramaean people in N.E. Syria worshipped, amongst other objects of devotion, the god Hadad, who is the equivalent of the Babylonian god Adad, the god of thunder. It seems, moreover, that a number of the Syrian kings of Damascus took the title of Bar-hadad. We should clearly be wrong in assuming that Bar-hadad was a twin: for we can make out a sequence of kings of Syria as follows:

Tab-Rimmon.
Bar-Hadad = Heb. Ben-hadad.
Hadad-idri = Heb. Hadad-ezer.
Bar-Hadad = Heb. Ben-hadad.
Hazael.

Four out of these five are affiliated to the Thunder-god, either in the Assyrian form Ramman, or in the Babylonian (?Amorite) form Adad or Hadad. Now the succession of the names shows that the reference to the Thunder-god must be a matter of dignity, not an indication of twin-ship. It will be otherwise with private persons who do not stand in the same close relationship to the gods as their kings. Such persons may, and constantly do, have theophoric names; but the term *Son of Thunder* is more than an ordinary theophoric name, implying the gift or grace of a god in the birth of a child. The probability is, therefore, that when such a name was borne by a private individual, the name connoted twin-ship. To take a curious illustration, we find in the chronicle of *Joshua the Stylite*[1] that a bishop of Tella in the sixth century was named Bar-hadad. The persistence of the ancient name must be conceded, although it may be questioned whether its meaning continued to be understood: and the easiest explanation of the persistence of such a pagan name

[1] Ed. Wright, c. 58.

in Christian circles is that it was for the general population the name of a twin. If, however, it should be thought that this explanation is unwarranted, the occurrence of the name with its undoubted meaning would be one more reason for caution in the too rapid inference from Thunder Sonship to Twinship.

There is another direction in which we may require a preliminary caution. We have shown that it does not necessarily follow that when the parenthood of the Thunder is recognised, it necessarily extends to both of the twins. The Dioscuri may be called unitedly, Sons of Zeus; but a closer investigation shows conclusively that there was a tendency in the early Greek cults to regard one twin as of divine parentage, and the other of human. Thus Castor is credited to Tyndareus, Pollux to Zeus; and of the Theban twins, Amphion is divine, and the son of Zeus, while Zethus is human and of ordinary parentage; and a little reflection shows, that such a distinction was, in early days, almost inevitable. The extra child made the trouble, and was credited to an outside source. Only later will the difficulty of discrimination lead to the recognition of both as Sky-boys or Thunder-boys. An instance from a remote civilization will show that this is the right view to take.

Twins in Peru.

For example, Arriaga, in his *Extirpation of Idolatry in Peru*, tells us that 'when two children are produced at one birth, which, as we said before, they call Chuchos or Curi, and in el Cuzco Taqui Hua-hua, they hold it for an impious and abominable occurrence, and they say, that *one of them is the child of the Lightning*, and require a severe penance, as if they had committed a great sin[1].' And it is interesting to note that when the Peruvians, of whom Arriaga speaks, became Christians, they replaced the name of Son of Thunder, given to one of the twins, by the name of Santiago, having learnt from their Spanish teachers that St James (Santiago,

[1] Arriaga, *Extirpacion de la Idolatria del Piru*, p. 32, Lima, 1621, 'Quando nacen dos de un parto, qui como diximos arriva llaman Chuchos, o Curi, y en el Cuzco Taqui Huahua, lo tienan por cosa sacrilega y abominabile, y aunque dizen, qui el uno es hijo del Rayo, hazen grande penitencia, como si uviessen hecho un gran peccado.'

S. Diego) and St John had been called Sons of Thunder by our Lord, a phrase which these Peruvian Indians seem to have understood, where the great commentators of the Christian Church had missed the meaning. When they heard the Spaniards fire off their harquebuses, they used to call the piece fired by the name of Illapa (i.e. Thunder[1]) or Rayo (i.e. Lightning) or Santiago (i.e. Son of Thunder)[2]. Santiago, for them, was the equivalent of the thunder.

Another curious and somewhat similar transfer of the language of the Marcan story in the folk-lore of a people, distant both in time and place, but sharing the Jewish or Galilean popular beliefs, will be found, even at the present day, amongst the Danes. Dr Blinkenberg, in his valuable monograph on *The Thunderweapon*, has collected evidence from many parts of Denmark to show that it is still common to pay regard to Thunderstones, as being animistically inhabited by the Thunder, and able in consequence to avert the lightning from persons or places, in time of storm[3].

Thunderstones in Denmark.

[1] See Acosta, *Natural and Moral history of the Indes*, reprinted by Hakluyt Society, Lond. 1880, p. 304, 'The thunder they (the Peruvians) called by three divers names, Chuquilla, Catuilla, and Intillape (Yllapa is Thunder in Quichna), supposing it to be a man in heaven with a sling and a mace, and that it is in his power to cause rain, haile, thunder and all the rest that appertaines to the region of the air.'

[2] Arriaga, l. c. p. 33, 'En el nombre de Santiago tienen tambien supersticion y suelen dar esto nombre ad uno de los Chuchos como a hijos de Rayo, q̄ suelen llamar Santiago. No entiendo que sera por el nombre Boanerges, que les pusso al apostol Santiago y a su hermano S. Juan Christo nuestro Señor, llamandoles Rayos, que esto quiere dezir hijos del trueno, segun la frasse Hebrea, sino o porque se avra estendido por aca la frasse, o conseya de los muchachos de España, que quando truena, dizen que corre el cavallo de Santiago, or porque veian, que en las guerras que tenian los Españoles, quando querian disparar los arcabuzes, que los Indios llaman Illapa, o Rayo, apellidavan primero Santiago, Santiago. De qualquiera manera que sea, usurpan con grande supersticion el nombre de Santiago, y assi entra las denias constituciones que dexan los Visitadores acabade la visita es una, que nadie se llamo Santiago, sino Diego.'

[3] It must not be supposed that this use of the thunderstone as a lightning-averter is peculiar to Denmark. Probably the horse-shoes which one sees everywhere in country houses in England belong to the same category. Usener (*Götternamen*, p. 287) gives an account of the pulling down of an old convent at Bonn in the year 1884, when an axe of the stone age was discovered under one of the beams. Evidently it had been regarded as a thunder axe, and had been used for the protection of the

Besides the conventional flint axes and celts, which commonly pass as thunder-missiles all over the world, the Danes regard the fossil sea-urchin as a thunderstone, and give it a peculiar name. Such stones are named in Salling, *sebedaei*-stones or *s'bedaei*; in North Salling they are called *sepadeje*-stones. In Norbaek, in the district of Viborg, the peasantry called them *Zebedee* stones! At Jebjerg, in the parish of Örum, district of Randers, they called them *sebedei*-stones. At Römshinde, in the district of Aarhus, the man who carried a zebedee-stone in his pocket believed himself immune from thunder. At Salten, and at Taaning in the same district, they were called *seppedij*-stones. At Klakring, in the district of Vejle, they were called *spådejo*-stones, and are put under the roof as a protection against lightning. Zebedee-stones.

The name that is given to these thunderstones is, therefore, very well established, and it seems certain that it is derived from the reference to the Sons of Zebedee in the Gospel as sons of thunder. The Danish peasant, like the Peruvian savage, recognised at once what was meant by Boanerges, and called his thunderstone after its patron saint. Probably he displaced some earlier title in giving the stone this name.

Feilberg, in his great dictionary, discusses the meaning of the name under the head of *Spådejesten*, and with the following conclusion: the word *spådeje* signifies a *witch*, a *prophetess*; hence the stone is a *witch-stone*. The zebedee-stone is a perversion of this, under the influence of Mark iii. 17. In Kolkar's dictionary, the same derivation is given, and the same allusion to Mark iii. 17; and the name *bodejesten* is explained in the same way as *milkmaid-stone* from *bodeje*, a milkmaid. There is no difficulty about the latter derivation, as the stones are actually used in dairies to keep the thunder from souring the milk; but the other derivation is inadequate, and in view of the Peruvian analogy, it is more natural to suppose that the stones were regarded

sacred building against lightning. We shall see later how the same result is accomplished by the attachment to a building of the body or representation of the thunder-bird.

as embodiments of the thunder, in which case the thunder-stone becomes naturally enough a Zebedee-stone[1].

[1] It may be asked whether this does not require or suggest a further possibility that Zebedee may itself be a thunder-name, whose meaning having been obscured, an alternative name for the Sons of Thunder was introduced.

The name Zabdai (Zebedee) is good Hebrew; it will be found, for instance, in the last chapter of Ezra in the form Zabad *bis*, and Zebedaiah (i.e. God has bestowed). It must be regarded as a genuine Hebrew name, unless there should be reason to believe that Zabdai is a Hebrew substitute for some non-Semitic name. Of non-Semitic influence in Galilee, there seem to be decided traces; but it is extremely unlikely that we can refer Zebedee to such a source. The only possible direction would be the name of the Phrygian Zeus, which the Greeks give as Sabazios, Sabadios, and a variety of similar spellings. Usener traces the root of this name (*Götternamen*, p. 44) to the word *storm*, which would make Sabazios originally a storm god. His cult can be traced as far east as Cilicia and Cappadocia; and in the west he follows the Roman armies with Mithra. I know, however, of no trace of him in Syria or Northern Palestine. In his cult-monuments we sometimes find depicted the Eagle and the Lightning, and the Oakbranch. On a bronze relief of Sabazios in Copenhagen, the corners of the plate are occupied by the Dioscuri, standing by the side of their horses. This may be nothing but Syncretism. On the other hand, the Eagle is the Thunder-bird, and as we shall see, the Oak-tree is the Thunder-tree; so we have five suggestions for identifying Sabazi with the Thunder. If such identification were possible, Zebedee might still be a real person, for his name would be theophoric. In the mysteries of Sabazios the initiate became identified with his god. The identification of Sabazi with Zebedee would not, therefore, imply that Zebedee was not a real person. The name occurs, moreover, a number of times in the recently recovered papyri from Elephantiné, in the forms Zabdai and Zebadaiah, so that there appears to be no reason for questioning its Hebraism, or introducing a mythological meaning.

On the other hand, it might be suggested that the awkward and unnatural expression, 'the mother of Zebedee's children,' which occurs twice in the Gospel of Matthew (xx. 20, xxvii. 56), would be perfectly lucid, if 'Zebedee's children' were equivalent to the Dioscuri or Zeus' boys.

CHAPTER II

THE PARENTAGE OF THE TWINS

In the previous chapter it was shown that the popular belief which expressed itself in the name Boanerges was very widely spread over the ancient and the modern world. It was not maintained that the Thunder, considered as parent, had no children except twin children, but it was clear that such were commonly assigned to him; and that one child out of a pair of twins was his by right, the other was his by concession. The second child gravitated, so to speak, to the same parentage as the first.

It becomes proper, therefore, to discuss more at length the primitive conception of the Thunder, in order that we may explain from it, wherever possible, the functions assigned to the Twins in early or later stages of evolution. We shall, therefore, indicate briefly some of the forms through which the idea of Thunder has passed, without attempting an exhaustive treatment of the subject.

Aryan Thunder-god.

Everyone knows the Thunder-god in the latest form which he took for our ancestors, or for the artists and poets of Greek and Roman civilization. The conception was anthropomorphic; the Thunder was either Thor with his mell, or Jupiter with his lightning in hand, or Zeus, striking men and ships with his bolts. There was a European Sky-god, who was viewed alternatively as a Thunder-god. The thunder was, in fact, his monopoly. A very little study, however, of classical literature and archaeology, will show that this monopoly is an acquired monopoly. The thunder has been 'cornered,' to use a modern commercial expression. Rival firms have been suppressed or made tributary; they produce the article, but after the rule of 'sic vos non vobis.'

Hephaestus is a rival Thunder-god, to whom nothing is left but the smithy: the Cyclopes, too, appear to have had a foundry of their own, and Hesiod expressly calls one of them by the name of *Brontes* or *Thunderer*. Prometheus, too, the Fire-bringer, belongs to the same circle of ideas; he is, perhaps, an original Zeus, for the fire and the lightning are closely related, and Zeus himself is in one passage called Promantheus[1].

Poseidon, also, appears at one time or another to have been of similar occupation, for the trident which he wields is not, as has sometimes been supposed, the archaic fish-spear, but the forked lightning, whose correct analogue is the group of lightning-shafts in the hands of the ancient Assyrian gods[2]. All of these forms, however, belong to the anthropomorphic stage in which the thunder is visaged as a man.

The Thunder bird.

There are, however, abundant indications that this anthropomorphic stage has been reached by a somewhat long journey. The Greeks themselves recognised that Zeus had antecedents; there was an ornithomorph, and possibly several theriomorphs, before the anthropomorph. When we see Zeus accompanied by an eagle in whose claws the sheaf of lightning is disposed, we have one case out of many similar ones, where two forms of a cult are expressed at one glance, the elder and the younger, the eagle being the cult-ancestor of Zeus; we shall see presently reason to believe that there is an earlier form of thundering bird than the eagle, and that the eagle has actually displaced the woodpecker: but for the present it is sufficient to state that the human thunder-gods

[1] Tzetzes in Lycoph. *Alex.* 537.

[2] Hence I infer that Mr A. B. Cook is wrong in connecting the trident with the lordship of the sea: in describing a scarab of Etruscan workmanship, in which a naked male deity is stepping into a chariot, grasping a thunderbolt in his right hand, a trident in his left, Mr Cook remarks, 'the thunderbolt marks him as a sky-god, *the trident as a water-god* etc.' He goes on to give Brunn's description of a bas-relief at Albano, where 'the central figure is a god, bearded and crowned, who by the attributes of a thunderbolt and a trident on his right, and a cornucopia surmounted by an eagle on his left side, is shown to be Jupiter conceived as lord of the sky, *the sea*, and the underworld.' For *sea*, read *lightning*: and so with the rest of the examples adduced by Mr Cook (*Folk-Lore*, 1904, pp. 274–5).

have been evolved out of animal and bird forms, or have at least been evolved side by side with such forms.

The memory of such cult ancestry lingered amongst the Greeks and Latins to a very late day. They told legends of a time when Zeus was not, and when Woodpecker was king; and even if such statements should be made by a comic poet[1], he was not playing the innovator when he made the statement, but the thoughtful conservative. In the same way, artists all over the world have drawn the Thunder with bird characteristics, very commonly with bird's feet. The popular pictures of the devil with cock's feet are only an intimation that the devil is one of the dispossessed thunder-gods. In China, as we shall see later on, the thunder is drawn as a man hurling lightnings, but the man has bird's feet. In Crete there was a legend of the death of Zeus, which caused holy horror to the pious Greeks of Olympian times, and was the foundation for the much misunderstood saying that 'the Cretans were aye liars'; but along with this legend there was another as to the death of Picus, who was also Zeus. Picus is, of course, the woodpecker. The statement is preserved for us by Suidas, under the form of an epitaph,

King Woodpecker.

Ἐνθάδε κεῖται θανὼν [βασίλειος] Πῆκος ὁ καὶ Ζεύς.

All of which is suggestive enough, and intimates to us that we should make an investigation into the bird-forms or animal-forms with which the thunder was identified by men of ancient days. Nor can we, in such an enquiry, ignore the question as to whether the thunder had inanimate forms, or vegetable forms, with which the primitive animist had alternatively made his equation. That such forms existed is clear from the persistent belief in the thunderstone, extant in Europe down to the present day; such stones being recognised in the stone axes of early times, or in fossil-forms (like the sea-urchins amongst the Danes), which the thunder has tenanted in such a way as to make them either a danger or a means of security. In the vegetable world, as we shall see, there are various thunder-incarnations. It suffices to

[1] Aristophanes, *Aves*, 478.

mention, in the first instance, the oak-tree, which is for the Europeans of ancient time the same thing in vegetable life as the eagle was in bird life, comparable also to the sky itself, as being an animistic dwelling of the thunder. Mr A. B. Cook, in a series of remarkable papers on the European sky-god[1], has shown how closely the cult of the sky-god amongst our ancestors was connected with the cult of the sacred tree, the oak being the tree most commonly honoured, though there are distinct traces of other tree cults. We shall find the best explanation of the equation between the sky-god and the oak-tree in the lightning which passes from one to the other, and makes its secondary dwelling in the tree that it strikes. We shall probably see reason for believing that peculiar sanctity attaches to a hollow oak. In the same way the Romans regarded as sacred, and fenced off from the public with appropriate warnings, the spot of ground where a lightning flash struck, or where a thunderstone was supposed to have fallen. The thunderstone itself, when identified, became a sacred object, either dangerous, as still containing the thunder within it, or protective, on the hypothesis that lightning does not strike lightning. The thunder-weapon accordingly becomes one of the principal objects of cult, and in some points of view is regarded as almost divine. In the East the gods constantly carry it, in the form of an axe, frequently a double axe, while in the West the most common form of the axe is known to us as the hammer of Thor. On the ancient Cretan monuments, on the Hittite and Assyrian sculptures, the sky-god (storm-god, thunder-god) is constantly represented with or by the single or double axe; and in many cases the god carries his axe (thunderstone) in one hand, and his bunch of lightnings in the other, the bunch of lightnings being often in the form of a single or double trident[2].

The Thunder-Oak.

The Thunder-axe.

We have thus two series of identifications to keep in mind:

[1] *Folk-Lore*, 1904.

[2] For illustration, see Blinkenberg, *The Thunderweapon*: Roscher, s.v. Ramman, Teshub, Dolichenus, etc.

Sky-god
or Thunder-god = Oak-god (with various substitute or alternative trees).
or Lightning-god = Thunderstone (stone-axe, double-axe, hammer, etc., including fossils with imagined thunder-forms).
= Lightning (trident, double trident, etc.),

to which must be added the anthropomorphic, ornithomorphic or zoömorphic representations of the thunder.

These representations of the thunder as beast, bird or man are of the first importance in our enquiry as to the origin and development of the twin-cult; for, if the Twins are regarded as the sons of the thunder, the parentage will be more easily recognisable when the thunder takes an animate shape. It is not impossible that thunder-trees or thunderstones should be identified with twins, but it is, in the nature of the case, much less likely than that the twins should be recognised in forms of animal life, which have been associated either with the thunder, or the thunder-tree. Moreover, we shall be able to trace the modification of the parentage of the Twins from a bird ancestry to a human ancestry, since this very change of view is actually taking place among certain savage tribes at the present day, the Thunder being considered by them in the first instance as a bird, and in a later and secondary identification being endowed with a human form. As we have said, it is these identifications and modifications which need to be carefully watched, if we are to determine how such an idea as that of the great Twin Brethren of the Dorians arose out of the senseless but terrible taboo which we find still existing in savage Africa at the present day.

Of bird ancestries, we shall show that the first place must be given to the woodpecker, but that there are a number of other birds, more or less demonstrably thunder-birds; we shall also come across suspicious cases of thunder-beasts, including the squirrel, the flying-squirrel and perhaps the beaver; and all of these must be grouped in an equation of identification similar to what is given above, so that the

Sky-god
or Thunder-god = woodpecker, robin, stork (?), swan (?), eagle, etc.
or Lightning-god = squirrel or beaver (?), etc.
= thunder-man (Zeus, Jupiter, Thor, etc.),

and according to the state of evolution of the idea of the thunder, will be the form assigned to the Twins considered as of Thunder-parentage.

The importance of the last consideration will be evident. If, for example, we find Twins regarded as Woodpeckers, or as human beings with names or characteristics which imply woodpecker antecedents, then the twin-cult which we are considering is older than the time when the woodpecker had given place to an eagle or to an Olympian Jove. We are working from a very ancient stratum of civilization, if it can be called civilization, and not from a time when gods and goddesses many had already been recognised and defined. To say that the Twins in Greek religion are pre-Olympian is to put it very gently indeed. They may be Zeus' boys, but just as there was a time when there was no Zeus, so there was a time when there were no boys. And it is to the study of such a time that we must turn if we are to understand the cult.

The Twins as Woodpeckers.

If, moreover, we must not derive our cult from Olympian Zeus, or from any similar anthropomorph, still less must we begin by discussing the Twins as they were finally lodged in the Zodiac. For even if the Zodiac were as ancient as the neo-Babylonian school imagine (which it almost certainly is not), its antiquity would be a mere handbreadth compared with the space of distant time in which our forefathers worked out their fears of the elemental forces into the fabric of a noble, though idolatrous, religion. The Zodiac can be left almost to the last section of such an enquiry as that upon which we are engaged.

Returning, then, to our theme, the suggested parentage of Twins by the Thunder or Lightning requires that we should examine rapidly the forms which the Thunder-cult takes in different parts of the world, and determine in what

cases a Twin-cult has associated itself with the Thunder-cult. The two parts of the enquiry will, almost of necessity, go on side by side; but perhaps it will be best to fix our minds at first upon the Thunder rather than upon the Twins.

If it should happen that anyone should be sceptical as to the multiplicity of the forms, animate and inanimate, which have been suggested for the Thunder in the previous pages, we have only to remind ourselves that exactly the same thing happens with regard to the Corn Spirit, which is recognised as man, as woman, as maid, as wolf, dog, cat, hare, and a number of animals associate or associable with the cornfield.

CHAPTER III

THE THUNDER-BIRD

THE Thunder-bird was, as I suppose, first discovered amongst the Red Indians of North America, and it is still extant among surviving tribes of that rapidly disappearing race.

Thunder among Red Indians.

For example, among the Déné Indians in the north-west of Canada, known as the Hare-skin Dénés, there is a belief that the thunder is a huge bird: all winter long he lies hidden under ground, somewhere in the west-south-west. But when the warm weather returns, he returns along with the migrant birds; then, if he shakes his tail, we hear the thunder; and if he winks his eyes there are dazzling lightnings[1].

What is here reported of the Déné Indians is common belief of the whole race, although some tribes, such as the Iroquois, may have changed or abandoned their beliefs under the influence of the white man. If, however, we go back to the accounts given of Indian beliefs by the first Jesuit Missions, we find enquiries made and reports collected which prove how universal was the belief in the thunder-bird. Thus the missionary, Le Jeune, in his Relation under date

[1] Pettitot, *Traditions Indiennes du Canada Nord-Ouest, Légendes et Traditions des Déné Peaux-de-Lièvre*, p. 283, 'Iti est un oiseau gigantesque, qui demeure au pays des manes avec le gibier émigrant. Il y séjourne tout l'hiver sous terre, à la retombée de la voûte céleste, bien loin, au *Pied-du-Ciel*, dans l'ouest sud-ouest. Mais lorsqu'il fait chaud de nouveau, lorsque le gibier ailé revient vers nous à tire d'ailes, vers notre pays accourt Iti, suivi de toutes les âmes ou revenants. Alors, s'il fait vibrer les plumes de la queue, nous entendons gronder le tonnerre, et s'il clignotte des yeux les éclairs de la foudre nous éblouissent, dit-on. Celui-ci est une divinité mauvaise, car elle cause la mort des hommes.'

1632 (*Jesuit Relations*, v. 57) tells of the Indians in the neighbourhood of Quebec that 'they (the Iroquois) believe that the thunder is a bird, and a savage one day asked a Frenchman if they did not capture them in France; having told him yes, he begged him to bring him one, but a very little one: he feared that it would frighten him if it were large.' Two years later (1633, 1634), Le Jeune reports again (*Jesuit Relations*, VI. 225), 'I asked them (the Montagnais) about the thunder: they said they did not know what animal it was; that it ate snakes and sometimes trees; that the Hurons believed it to be a very large bird. They were led to this belief by a hollow sound made by a kind of swallow which appears here in the summer. I have not seen any of these birds in France, but have examined some of them here. They have a beak, a head and a form like the swallow, except that they are a little larger; they fly about in the evening, repeatedly making a dull noise.' Le Jeune explains that the Hurons compared this noise with that made by the thunder-bird: 'there is only one man who has seen this bird, and he only once in his lifetime. This is what my old man told me.' The Iroquois

Evidently the Hurons as well as the Iroquois believed in the thunder-bird. In a note which is added to the tenth volume of the (reprinted) *Jesuit Relations* (x. 319, 320), the matter is summed up as follows:

'The myth of the Thunder-bird was, in some form or other, common to the North American tribes from Mexico to Hudson's Bay, and from the S. Lawrence to Bering Strait, and it is still current among most of the northern and western tribes. They explain the vivid and (to them) mysterious and terrible phenomena of the thunderstorm as proceeding from *an immense bird, so large that its shadow darkens the heavens: the thunder is the sound made by the flapping of its wings, the lightning is the flashing or the winking of its eye, and the deadly and invisible thunderbolts are arrows sent forth by the bird against its enemies.* The Indians greatly dread this imaginary bird, often addressing prayers to it during a thunderstorm.'

It would be a mistake to suppose that the Thunder is

always imagined to be a large bird; on the contrary, as we shall see presently (and the point is important for our enquiry), there are tribes that have seen the thunder in a form as small as the humming bird. The legends of the Dakota Indians and of some other tribes identify the thunder-bird with the Creator of the World, and say that it brought fire from heaven for the use of men: they tell of an unceasing strife between Unktaha, the god of waters, and Wauhkem, the thunder-bird. Mrs Mary Eastman gives the following Sioux explanation of the thunder[1]: 'Thunder is a large bird, flying through the air; its bright tracks are seen in the heavens, before you hear the clapping of its wings. But it is the young ones that do the mischief. The parent bird would not hurt a Dahcotah. Long ago a thunder-bird fell from the heavens; and our fathers saw it as it lay, not far from the Little Crow's village.'

The Sioux.

For a more detailed statement of Dakota beliefs, with an important modification, *v. infra.*

Lillooet Indians.

Mr Teit, in his account of the Indians on the Lillooet River in British Columbia[2], tells us, in an account to which we shall have to refer again, that 'some describe the thunder-bird as being like the ruby-throated humming-bird and of about the same size. Others describe the thunder as a bird about one metre in length. On its head it has a large crest, like that of the blue jay, but standing far backward....When it turns its head from side to side, as it does when angry, fire darts from its eyes, which is the lightning....*Some of the lower Lillooet Indians say that the thunder is a man. It is said that he was seen on the Lower Lillooet river some years ago, during a heavy thunderstorm. Each time a flash of lightning came he could be seen standing on one leg.*'

Transition from Thunder-bird to Thunder-man.

We shall have to return to this account, but for the present it is sufficient to note, over and above the conventional Red Indian account of the origin of thunder and lightning, that the bird is sometimes regarded as extremely small, and that the actual change from the ornithomorph to

[1] Eastman, *Dahcotah or Life and Legends of the Sioux*, p. 19.

[2] Teit, *The Lillooet Indians.*

the anthropomorph is actually in process amongst the Indians of British Columbia. Both of these points should be carefully noted.

This important transformation in the belief can also be traced among the Dakotas, to whom we were just now referring: for they say that the Thunder-bird which was killed at Little Crow's village on the Mississippi River, *had a face like a man, with a nose like an eagle's bill; its body was long and slender. Its wings had four joints to each, which were painted in zigzags to represent lightning*[1]. The Dakotas. Thunder-bird with man's face.

Here, then, we see the same transformation going on, with the aid of a pictorial symbol. It is not difficult, in view of such beliefs, to realise the changes which produced out of birds the thunder-gods of antiquity, for they also often carry on, more or less definitely, the bird tradition. In the case of the Dakotas, the human form is just beginning to appear. In the case of the Thompson Indians, the change appears to have been completely made, though it has not been accepted by the whole community. In Graeco-Roman religions, Jupiter will keep at his side the eagle out of whom he has been evolved. In China, all the bird will disappear except the feet, the bill, and perhaps the wings.

The same belief in the Thunder-bird, but apparently without any deflection in the direction of the Thunder-man, will be found amongst the Thompson Indians of British Columbia[2]. According to them, the thunder is 'a little larger than the grouse, and of somewhat similar shape:...the thunder-bird shoots arrows, using its wings like a bow. The rebound of its wings in the air, after shooting makes the thunder....The arrow-heads fired by the Thunder are found in many parts of the country. They are of black stone and of very large size. Some Indians say that lightning is the twinkling of the thunder's eyes etc.' The Thompson Indians.

In the same way the Ahts of Vancouver Island believe in a great thunder-bird. His name is Tootooch. He is a The Ahts.

[1] Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes of the United States*, vol. III. p. 486; *ibid.* p. 233.

[2] Teit, *The Thompson Indians of British Columbia*, p. 338 seq.

mighty, supernatural bird, dwelling aloft and far away. The flap of his wings makes the thunder (Tootah) and his tongue is the forked lightning[1].

The importance of these statements is obvious in view of the belief in the thunder-arrow and the thunder-axe amongst our own ancestors, and amongst modern Europeans, like the Danish farmers, whom we have described above. It is not necessary, for our purpose, to collect further evidence of the Thunder-bird amongst the North American Indians: those who wish to examine further into the subject may consult Myron Eells on 'The Thunder-bird,' in the *Journal of the American Anthropological Society*[2]; or Brinton's *Myths of the New World*, pp. 239, 245, or Chamberlain, 'Thunder-bird amongst the Algonquins,' in the *Journal of the American Anthropological Society*[3]. We shall presently see that there is no need to describe these beliefs so exclusively as *Myths of the New World*: but before returning to the Old World in search of parallels to the Indian beliefs, it may be as well to point out that the thunder-bird can be located amongst the Esquimaux, and that it can be followed south into Mexico, and into South America. A few instances may be given. For the Esquimaux, see Hoffmann, *Graphic Art of the Esquimaux*, pl. 72, where a picture of the thunder-bird, from the Esquimaux' point of view is given.

The Caribs.

Amongst the Caribs, the Thunder-god is called Sawaku; sometimes he is spoken of as a star, and sometimes as a bird, who blows the lightning through a great reed[4].

The Brazilians.

Amongst the Brazilians, the fear of the thunder is very great; they have a thunder-god named Tupa, whose voice or the flapping of whose wings, makes the thunder. From him comes the name Tupecanongo, given to the thunder, while the lightning is called Tupaberaba, i.e. the flashing of Tupa. Some of the Brazilians think the thunder is the noise made by departed spirits. They also attribute to the thunder-god the invention of agriculture.

[1] Sproat, *Scenes and Studies of Savage Life*, p. 177.
[2] Vol. II. pp. 329–36.
[3] Vol. III. pp. 51–4.
[4] Müller, *Amerikanische Urreligionen*.

It is sufficient to point out that, even if Tupa should be regarded as a thunder-man, it is a thunder-man who has been evolved out of a thunder-bird, which appears to be not very dissimilar to the type current among the North American Indians[1].

Thunder-bird in Polynesia.

The belief in a thunder-bird, which we find so widely diffused over North and South America, can be traced amongst the Polynesians, with the aid of the observations we have already made as to the development of the belief. For instance, John Williams, the martyr of Erromanga, brought home amongst other relics the image of the god Taan, the god of Thunder: and he tells us that, 'when the thunder peals, the natives said that *this god was flying, and producing this sound by the flapping of his wings.*' This is almost exactly the language by which we found the thunder-bird described by the Dakotas or the Brazilians[2].

In the same way we are informed by Ellis, the Polynesian missionary, that 'among the Hervey Islands, they worshipped a god of thunder; but he does not appear to have been an object of great terror to any of them. *The thunder was supposed to be produced by the clapping of his wings*[3].' Evidently another slightly disguised thunder-bird.

Now let us try South Africa, and see whether the same beliefs are current.

The Zulus.

Mr Dudley Kidd[4] tells us that 'the natives in Zululand believe that if one examines the spot where lightning struck the ground, the shaft of an assegai will be found.' This corresponds exactly to the European or Red Indian belief in the thunderstone or thunder-arrow. 'The lightning is thus thought to be some dazzling spear hurled through the air. Others maintain that a special brown bird will be found at this spot, which is supposed to be surrounded by a mist or haze—probably their interpretation of the dazzling of their eyes by the bright light. This idea is modified in

[1] For the Brazilian Thunder-god, see Müller, *ut supra*, p. 271.
[2] Williams, *Missionary Enterprise*, p. 109.
[3] Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, p. 417.
[4] *The Essential Kafir*, p. 120.

The Pondos. Pondoland, where the natives assure you that lightning is caused by a brown bird, which spits fire down on the earth.

The Bomvanas. The Bomvanas modify this again, by saying that the bird sets its own fat on fire, and throws it down on the earth. I was on the point of shooting one of these birds, and the natives cried out in horror, begging me not to "shoot the lightning".'

Mr Kidd goes on to explain that, in the native opinion, the thunder is caused by the flapping of the bird's wings, a belief which we have found in North and South America, and in Polynesia. When the thunder is loud and crackling, the agent is said to be the female bird; when it is distant and rumbling, the male bird.

A further modification of the thunder-bird is said, by Mr Kidd, to exist in Natal, where '*a white bird*[1] of enormous size comes down and flaps his wings. An old native was quite indignant with a missionary who contradicted this assertion. The old man wanted to know how such a person could ever presume to teach the natives, when he did not know that thunder was caused by a bird.' Mr Kidd goes on to explain the various means employed by the South

Lightning averters. African Bantus to avert the lightning. The Kafirs stick assegais through the roof when a storm begins; and others place a hoe leaning against the side of the house. These practices are clearly parallel to our European methods of protection from the thunderstone by means of the thunderstone. It is more difficult to understand why the natives on the Zambesi place pieces of ostrich shell on their roofs as a protection against lightning. Does this mean that any African tribe had identified the ostrich with a thunder-bird? The real business of protection against lightning belongs to the medicine men. These have for their business, as Mr Kidd says, to control the clouds, which they drive about like herds of oxen. They use as medicine the assegai shafts which lie on the ground where the lightning strikes, they catch the thunder-bird and make medicine of its feathers, and they even eat the birds so as to be strong to fight the storm.

[1] Is this a case of white lightning?

Something of this kind had been noticed by the great African missionary, Dr Moffat, amongst the Bechuanas. He tells us[1] 'Thunder they supposed to be caused by a certain bird which may be seen soaring very high during the storm, and which appeared to the natives as if it nestled among the forked lightnings. Some of these birds are not infrequently killed, and their having been seen to descend to the earth may have given rise to this ludicrous notion. I have never had an opportunity of examining this bird, but presume it belongs to the vulture species.' The missionary little suspected that the 'ludicrous notion' was once the common belief of his own European ancestors. How near his description of the Bechuana thunder-bird approaches to the eagle of Zeus! Amongst the Zulus the same belief can be traced; we have a striking statement on the subject in Callaway's *Religious System of the Amazulu*[2] which has the advantage of giving the Zulu belief in their own words, as follows: 'There is a bird of heaven: it too is killed; it *comes down when the lightning strikes the earth* and remains on the ground....The bird of heaven is a bird which is said to descend from the sky, when it thunders, and to be found in the neighbourhood of the place where the lightning has struck. The heaven doctors place a large vessel of amasi mixed with various substances near a pool such as is frequently met with on the tops of hills: this is done to attract the lightning that it may strike in that place. The doctor remains at hand watching, and when the lightning strikes the bird descends and he rushes forward and kills it.' The body of the captured bird makes a very powerful medicine. The heaven doctor here described might equally be called thunder-doctor or rain-doctor; for the same term commonly describes sky, thunder, and lightning among African tribes, a usage which has its parallel in the terms in which the Greek poets describe Zeus. We shall return to these Zulu beliefs at a later point. For the present, it is sufficient to show that the thunder-bird has a leading place

The Bechuanas.

The Zulus.

[1] Moffat, *Missionary Labours in S. Africa*, 4th ed. p. 338.

[2] p. 119.

in South African religion, and that the thunder-man does not seem to have yet arrived, unless the medicine man should be his foreshadowing and prototype.

Thunder-bird in Madagascar.

Crossing to Madagascar, we might suppose that we had passed outside the area of belief in the thunder-bird; there is, however, as my friend John Sims points out, a bird known to the natives as *vorombāratra*, which is exactly *bird-of-thunder*.

In West Africa, among the negro tribes, we have the curious phenomenon of an advance in civilization relatively to the Bantus; for the thunder appears, in some places, to be regarded as a man. Amongst the negroes of the Guinea Coast, the thunder-god is Shango, and I have not as yet detected any trace of bird-ancestry about him; though it is very probable that closer acquaintance would disclose it. Ellis shows in his *Yoruba-speaking Peoples* (p. 47) the two stages of belief closely adjacent: 'the notion we found amongst the Ewes that a *bird-like creature* was the animating entity of the thunderstorm has no parallel here, and Shango is purely anthropomorphic.'

Yoruba tribes.

The exact passage in which Ellis describes the lightning-god of the Ewe-speaking peoples of the Slave Coast is deserving of study[1].

'Khebioso, whose name is often abbreviated to So, is the lightning-god, and the word itself is used to mean lightning, though the more correct term for that is *So-fia*. On the Gold Coast, the lightning is wielded by the Sky-god, Nyankupon.

Ewe-tribes.

'The name Khebioso is compounded of *Khe* (bird), *bi* (to let go light, to throw out light), and *so* (fire), so that it literally means the bird, or bird-like creature, that throws out fire....The Ewe-speaking negroes imagine that Khebioso is a *flying god, who partakes in some way of the nature of a bird*. The general idea appears to be that Khebioso is a bird-like creature, hidden in the midst of the black thunder-cloud, from which he casts out the lightning, and by some *the crashing of the thunder is believed to be the flapping of its enormous wings*.'

[1] Ellis, *Ewe-speaking peoples*, p. 37.

Ellis also notes that the negroes of the Slave Coast, as elsewhere, identify the flint implements of the Stone Age with thunderbolts, and they are consequently called *So-Kpe* (*Kpe* = stone). 'After a building has been struck by lightning, the priests of Khebioso, who at once run to the spot to demand that the inmates should make amends for the evident offence they have given their god, almost invariably produce a flint arrow-head, or axe, which they of course bring with them, but pretend to have found in or near the building.'

The case of Shango, who is also known by the name of *Hurler of Stones* (i.e. of thunderbolts), is interesting, as we shall see later, on account of his having migrated to Brazil with the slaves of the Portuguese, where he held his own as an object of religion, even after the conversion of the Brazilian negroes to Roman Catholicism.

The thunder-bird is also known to the Bakerewe, who live on the largest island in the Victoria Nyanza Lake[1]. I give the account at length. 'Foudre (nkuba)—Comme la plupart des Nègres, les Bakerewe personifient la foudre; *c'est un coq mystérieux, au plumage de feu,* qui s'abat capricieusement sur les hommes et les choses, tuant, détruisant ou brûlant tout ce qu'il touche. Bref! c'est un esprit des plus malfaisants. Cependant il y a un moyen de l'empêcher de nuire: être assez prompt pour le couvrir, dès qu'il apparaît, d'une corbeille fortement tressée, dans laquelle il demeure prisonnier quelques instants, pour s'en retourner bientôt purement et simplement par où il est venu, sans causer le moindre dommage.' The Bakerewe.

So, then, the domestic cock is amongst the thunder-birds, and his colour is red.

When we pass into Asia, we find ourselves nearing the beliefs of our ancestors; the thunder is now commonly regarded anthropomorphically, although there are still traces of bird-ancestry in the existing beliefs. One of the most striking cases has already been alluded to, the Chinese representation of the thunder-god with bird's feet. There

[1] See Hurel in *Anthropos*, 1911, Heft 1. p. 75.

Chinese Thunder-god.

is in the possession of Mr Freer, of Detroit, a beautiful painting of the thunder-god by Hokusai, a Japanese painter who affects Chinese archaism; the picture, which I had the opportunity of studying when I was in Detroit some time since, shows this very peculiarity of the human form joined to bird's feet. We shall refer to this picture again when we come to discuss the colour of the thunder-god. More striking is the figure of the Chinese thunder-god which Miss Harrison (*Themis*, p. 115) has reproduced from Simpson (*The Buddhist Praying Wheel*). Here we have the god beating a series of drums arranged in a circle; he has a thunderbolt in his left hand, and his bird-ancestry is betrayed by wings, claws and an eagle's beak.

We have now, perhaps, illustrated sufficiently for our purpose the existence of a wide-spread belief in the thunder-bird. It is not our intention to deal exhaustively with this subject; but we have to prove that the belief was held by our own Indo-European ancestors, for until we know what was the idea of the thunder that prevailed amongst them, we cannot trace to its origin the Cult of the Heavenly Twins, considered as the Children of the Thunder. As far as we have gone, we have found evidence of the existence of two dominant fears in the mind of primitive man, one the perfectly natural fear of thunder and lightning, the other, which at first sight seems as artificial as the other is natural, the fear of twins; and we have already more than a suspicion that these two fears are closely involved in one another: so much of religious practice and belief is traceable to one or other of these forms of terror that we might almost say that on these two dreads hang nine-tenths of subsequent religion.

We now know how to recognise the thunder-bird when we see him in *propriâ personâ*, or in forms which have displaced him. There is, however, a further direction in which identification of the thunder can be made; in this also we shall find constant connection between the Thunder and the Twins: we refer to the colour identification to which we propose to devote our next chapter.

CHAPTER IV

THE RED ROBES OF THE DIOSCURI

In the present chapter we are going to show that the proper colour for the raiment of the Dioscuri is red, and that this red colour is significant of the relation in which they stand to the Thunder[1]. The Dioscuri wear red cloaks.

That the Dioscuri, when they have appeared at important functions in Greek or Roman history, wore scarlet chlamydes can be deduced from the traditional account of their heroical deeds, which frequently make mention of their dress and involve us in the belief that the colour is significant: no doubt if the coins or other monuments, on which they are represented riding victoriously towards or from some great enterprise, could talk to us in colour as well as in form, they would say the same thing, for it is the same chlamys in metal or stone that is described as red in the prose of the historians: and just as we know that their horses, wherever represented, are, for the most part, white, so we know that their robes, flying in the wind, are red.

It has not, however, been as commonly recognised that the reason why the robes are red lies in the fact that the Twins are personifications of the lightning, being either Sons of Zeus or Sons of Thunder, or Children of the Sky, or whatever other title may express their superhuman affinities.

Suppose, then, we start from the statement that red is

[1] Most of this chapter has already appeared in the *Contemporary Review* for May, 1912; the matter is reproduced here by the courtesy of the Editors.

the proper colour for the lightning, and illustrate that statement by reference

Red is the colour of Thunder-bird, of Thunder-man, and of Thunder-priest.

(1) To the colour ascribed to the Thunder-bird, who is the zoömorphic representative of thunder and lightning:

(2) To the colour ascribed to the anthropomorphic representation of the deity who controls the thunder:

(3) To the colour worn by the priests and human representatives of the aforesaid deity.

If all these developments of the idea of thunder and lightning tell the same story of colour, we shall have little doubt as to the meaning of that colour when it appears in the raiment of the Heavenly Twins.

We begin, then, with the Thunder-bird. And first of all, we select some cases of savage tribes who have evolved the idea of the Thunder-bird. We alluded above to the Zulus, whose opinions were so carefully recorded in Calla-

Zululand. way's *Religious System of the Amazulu*. Amongst these statements about the bird of heaven, or sky-bird, or thunder-bird, which comes down when the lightning strikes, we are told that the witch-doctors lie in wait for the thunder by the side of a pool near a hill-top, and that, when the lightning strikes, they rush forward and kill it. '*It is said to have a red bill, red legs, and a short red tail like fire:* its feathers are bright and dazzling, and it is very fat.' In the same book[1] we are furnished with an account given by a Zulu who had actually seen a feather of the bird, exhibited to him by the man who had found it. The story runs thus:

'As regards that bird, there are many who have seen it with their eyes, and especially doctors, and those persons who have seen it when it thunders, and the lightning strikes the ground; the bird remains where the ground was struck. If there is any one near that place he sees it in the fog on the ground and goes and kills it. When he has killed it, he begins to be in doubt, saying, "Can it be that I shall

[1] l.c. p. 381.

continue to live as I have killed this bird, which I never saw before? Is it not really that bird which it is said exists, the lightning bird which goes with the lightning?" He is in doubt because he sees that its characteristics are not like those of birds which he has seen for a long time; he sees that it is quite peculiar, for its feathers glisten. *A man may think that it is red:* again he sees that it is not so, that it is green. But if he looks earnestly he may say, "No, it is something between the two colours as I am looking at it." I myself once saw a feather of this kind as I was living on the Umsundugi, for I had wished for a long time to see the colour of the bird, and at length I saw one of its feathers. The man, to whom it belonged, took it out of his bag, and truly I saw it and said, "Indeed it is the feather of a dreadful bird!"'

This very naïve account shows that what was expected was a bird of a red colour; if an actual bird obtained at the right time should turn out to be green, the savage looks at it, and it turns out to be between red and green.

Now let us turn back to the North American Indians whom we were describing in a previous chapter.

Amongst the Lillooet Indians of British Columbia, we found first an identification of the thunder with the *ruby-throated* humming-bird. Then apparently because the bird was too insignificant there was a suggestion that the thunder was 'a bird about a metre in length; on its head it has a large crest, like that of the blue jay, but standing far backward. *Its body is blue and its throat red.*' Then after a statement that 'the Indians claim that it was seen in the mountains near Pemberton some years ago' the account continues, 'The humming-bird is the friend of the thunder' (i.e. not really the thunder-bird, though some think it to be so). 'Some of the Lower Lillooet Indians say that the thunder is a man. It is said that he was seen on the Lower Lillooet River some years ago, during a heavy thunder-storm. Each time a flash of lightning came, he could be seen standing on one leg. *His head and hair were red* and the hair stood out stiff from one side of his

Lillooet Indians.

head[1].' Here the colour will be noted, not only for the humming-bird's throat, and for the unknown bird to whom he is related (not being the thunder-bird exactly but just his friend), whose throat also is red, but also because we have here, as we pointed out in the previous chapter, amongst the Lillooet Indians, the very transition from the zoömorphic to the anthropomorphic representation of the thunder; in which connection we note that when the thunder passes over from the ranks of birds to men, he carries his colour with him. The same feature comes out amongst the Thompson Indians, of whom we are told that '*Some describe the colour of its plumage as wholly red*, while others say that it resembles the female blue grouse, but *has large red bars above its eyes, or has a red head, or some red in its plumage*[2].'

Thompson Indians.

Shuswap Indians.

The same thing occurs among the Shuswap Indians, where the conception of the thunder is said to be the same as amongst the Thompson Indians. 'The thunder-bird is large and black, and covered with down or short downy feathers. *Some part of its body—according to some, its head —is bright red*[3].'

The prominence which is given to the colour of the thunder is something which belongs to the nature of the case, and ought to be carefully noted; for it is a dominant factor in a number of traditional lines of thought. The writer of the article on the Cherokees[4] in Hastings' *Cyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, sees the stress laid on the colour and the meaning of it: he says 'The Cherokees possess quite a number of anthropomorphic deities of more or less importance. Of these *Asgaya Gigagei* (Red Man) is perhaps the most frequently invoked. He appears to be connected in some way with the thunder....The facts that he

Cherokees.

[1] Teit, *The Lillooet Indians*.

[2] Teit, *The Thompson Indians of British Columbia*, pp. 338–99.

[3] Teit, *The Shuswap* (Memoir of the American Museum of Natural History, New York). *The Jesup North Pacific Expedition*, vol. I. pt. VII. 1909, p. 597.

[4] Mr Lewis Spence. He is quoting from the *Reports of the Bureau of Ethnology* at Washington.

is described as being of a red colour, and that the Cherokees were originally a mountain people, seem to point to the conclusion that he was a thunder-god. Other thunder-gods of the American race, the Con of the Peruvians, for example, are described as red in colour, and dwelling in clouds upon the mountain tops—their hue, of course, denoting the lightning. The Chac or rain (cloud) gods of the Mayas were called "the Red Ones" owing to their emanating from the clouds. A portion of the feather-shield of Tlaloc, the Mexican god of rain, was also of a red colour.'

Peruvians.

Mayas.

We are certain, then, that the colour of the thunder-god or storm-god is commonly regarded as red, and in particular the thunder-god considered as thunder-bird, must be a bird with red feathers, a red head, or breast, or tail. It may, perhaps, be objected that we do not prove that red always connotes lightning: nor is every red bird a thunder-bird: that may be freely admitted; it may be, for instance, a fire-bird, or a sun-bird, especially a rising-sun bird. Such cases may be found both East and West: but the fire-bird is only slightly differentiated from the thunder-bird or lightning-bird, and we shall sometimes find the two ornithomorphs to be the same. Lightning and fire are in the nature of the case next door neighbours. Supposing, then, that we have proved red to be the proper colour of the American thunder-gods, can we affirm the same thing for the other hemisphere, and, in particular, was the thunder-god of the Aryans a bird, and was it a red bird? The answers to such questions have been coming in for some time past from various quarters, and there has been an increasing perception of the existence of an ancient bird-cult, earlier than the anthropomorphic deities of Greece and Rome. Peculiar importance appears to be attached to the woodpecker in the early traditions of either civilization. As we have already stated, the woodpecker in Greek tradition antedates Zeus; in Latin the same bird was honoured as Picus Feronius, and associated with the early history of Romulus and Remus. It assisted the wolf in the nutrition of the twins, which is very nearly the same thing as saying that the woodpecker is an alternative parent.

Wood-pecker-cult earlier than Zeus.

Some persons have treated the woodpecker as a fire-bird, and have supposed it to be the inventor of the fire-stick, from its habit of drilling into trees in search of food; and, on the same hypothesis, it has been brought into contact with the Prometheus legends. As we have already said, the ideas of lightning and fire are closely connected: but it is clear that the woodpecker must be the lightning bird, for it is the predecessor of Zeus and of Zeus' eagle[1]. Between Zeus and the woodpecker stands the intermediate zoömorph, the eagle, which is certainly a thunder-bird; but even if the eagle were not there as a connecting link, the thunderous character of Zeus is so well known that it would be hard to describe his predecessor in any other terms: in other words, the original thunder-bird of the Aryans was a woodpecker.

But was he red in colour? The answer is that almost all the woodpeckers are distinguished by red heads or by red feathers. The woodpecker that was the predecessor of Zeus is probably the great black woodpecker. *Its head is a brilliant red*[2].

[1] In proving the woodpecker to be the European thunder-bird, we are making an unnecessary geographical limitation. The Arabs of N.W. Africa call it *Hedad*, or *Heddad*, which is the Amorite thunder-god as we know it in the name *Ben-Hadad*. Thus the Syrian kings show the name Picus just as do Italian kings.

[2] Its head is one of the significant features in the account given of its origin in the Norse legends. Here it is known as Gertrude's fowl, and is supposed to be the metamorphosis of an old woman in a red cap. (We shall see something like this presently in the story of the metamorphosis of King Picus.) The Norse legend will be found in Grimm (*Teut. Myth.* p. 673, Eng. trans.) or in Dasent's *Popular Tales from the Norse*, p. 230. It runs as follows: When our Lord walked on earth with Peter, they came to a woman that sat baking; her name was Gertrude, and she wore a red cap on her head. Faint and hungry from his long journey, our Lord asked for a little cake. She took a little dough and set it on, but it rose so high that it filled the pan; she thought it too large for an alms, took less dough, and began to bake it, but this grew as big, and still she refused to give it. The third time she took still less dough, and when the cake swelled to the same size, 'Ye must go without,' said Gertrude, 'all that I bake becomes too big for you.' Then was the Lord angry, and said, 'Since thou hast grudged to give me ought, thy doom is that thou be a little bird, seek thy scanty sustenance 'twixt wood and bark, and only drink as oft as it shall rain. No sooner were these words spoken than the woman was changed into Gertrude's fowl,

It may, then, be taken for granted that the woodpecker had been recognised as a thunder-bird by the colour of his head. Some would add (as we have already intimated) that he was also a fire-bird, on account of his drilling holes in trees after the manner of a fire-stick. As we have said, it is not always easy to tell whether a bird with red crest or red plumage is a fire-bird or a lightning-bird, or whether it is both. Some Red Indians use the tail feathers of the red flicker when they desire to set on fire with their arrows the wigwam of an enemy[1]; in this case, the red flicker is a fire-bird; but is he also a lightning-bird? I do not know for certain, but as they profess to be imitating the thunder in using the red feathers in question, it seems likely.

There is, however, a parallel case of some importance, in which we can decide that the bird under discussion was both fire-bird, and lightning-bird. I refer to the robin redbreast. The evidence is abundant and interesting that it was a fire-bird, but it may be suspected that as it was so identified from its colour (and without any thought of the fire-drill, as is the case of the woodpecker) that it may just as easily be a thunder-bird. Let us see.

The Robin as thunder-bird.

Its smallness is no disqualification for discharging the functions which might seem more naturally to belong to the eagle of Zeus: for we have already seen the ruby-throated humming-bird acting as Thunder to the American Indians; and one writer on American folk-lore tells us[2] that he was actually shown the nest of the Thunder, and was surprised at its minuteness. So the robin is not excluded, nor even

and flew up the kitchen chimney. And to this day we see her in her red cap, and the rest of the body black, for the soot of the chimney had blackened her: continually she hacks into the bark of trees for food, and pipes before rain, because, being always thirsty, she then hopes to drink.

[1] Teit, *The Thompson Indians*, p. 346. 'On account of their belief that the thunder shoots the ordinary thunder arrow-heads, and tail-feathers of the red-shafted flicker, which sets on fire everything that it touches, the Indians attached feathers of this bird to their arrows, which they shot at enemies' houses. They also made arrows intended to fire houses from wood of trees struck by lightning, or tied a splint of such wood to their ordinary arrows.'

[2] Catlin, *Life among the Indians*, p. 166.

his constant companion, the wren. As a bringer of fire, the robin appears in a curious story told by Swainson[1]. An old woman, a native of Guernsey, declared that the robin was the first who brought fire to Guernsey, and that in crossing the water, his feathers were singed, and he has remained red ever since. She added that her mother had a great veneration for the robin, 'for what should we have done without fire!' The story suggests to us that the robin has been taboo from the earliest times, and not merely because of a Christian legend that has been attached to him. And in his case, it may be inferred that no distinction was made between the robin as fire-bird, and the robin as thunder-bird. The name Robin is the friendly form of Robert, it is Shakespeare's 'bonny sweet Robin'; Robert is a common Norman name substituted for Rothbart (Red-beard), which is well known to be a title of Thor. So we get to the thunder-god at last. The very name Robin Redbreast is almost a dittograph.

It would be easy to bring forward other cases of the folk-lore explanations of the plumage of birds. For instance, it can be shown that Greece and Rome had other thunder-birds beside the woodpecker. If the woodpecker was honoured in ancient Rome, and elsewhere in Italy (for at Picenum they worshipped a woodpecker on a pillar, i.e. on the substitute for a sacred tree), recent investigation has confirmed ancient tradition as to its sanctity in ancient Crete[2]; there is also evidence that the cock was worshipped as a thunder-bird in early times. We have already alluded to him in that capacity, amongst a tribe dwelling on an island in the Victoria Nyanza. At Sparta, also, as the Dioscuric reliefs there discovered show, the cock is in evidence from the third century B.C. onwards, which suggests that at Sparta the cock had become, at some period, the cult animal in the worship of the Great Twin Brethren. In

The cock as thunder-bird.

[1] *Folk-lore of British birds*, p. 16.

[2] I am referring to the famous painted sarcophagus discovered by the Italians at Hagia Triada, where sacred birds are perched on pillars surmounted by thunder-axes, and I am assuming that they are woodpeckers.

the great votive relief at Verona, in which Argenidas expresses his devotion for a safe return from a sea voyage, Mr A. B. Cook has detected a cock, perched on the rocks overhanging the harbour, where the returned ship rides at anchor. He has also shown that a cock was connected with the worship of Zeus Felchanos, where the second name under its equivalent Vulcanus makes it fairly certain that the deity covered by the two names was a thunder-god[1]. From these and similar indications we infer that the cock is a thunder-bird, and its red crest is in harmony with the identification. A curious confirmation of this arises from the fact that the cock in modern times discharges a function which belonged in ancient days to the thunder-eagle. Vitruvius tells us[2] that eagles are to be put upon the ends of the roofs of temples, to protect them from lightning; the same duty is discharged for modern churches and barns by the mounted cock upon the weather-vane; and it is amusing (and we may add, it is characteristically ecclesiastical) to see the old and new sometimes side by side, when the modern lightning conductor runs up by the side of the ancient lightning averter. From these and similar cases we see that the worship of the thunder passed through an ornithomorphic stage, and that the proper colour by which one recognises the representative of the thunder or lightning is red. No doubt the cock has to do with the lightning, and that he is what the Red Indian would call Thunder, with power to avert the Thunder.

Thunder-birds avert lightning.

The question will arise at this point as to why, if the cock is the cult-bird of the Dioscuri in Sparta at the time to which we refer, it was not so at an earlier date. The answer is that it is a religious importation that came from Persia, where it was discharging the same function of thunder-hood and original royalty as the woodpecker was doing in Greece. The Greeks call it 'the Persian bird,' and Aristophanes tells us distinctly of the place of honour which it occupied

The cock as sky-bird came from Persia.

[1] See A. B. Cook, *Folk-Lore*, 1904. For the Spartan reliefs, see Tod and Wace, *Cat. of Sparta Museums*, p. 113, etc.

[2] See S. Reinach, *Mythes, Cultes et Religions*, tom. III. p. 73.

in Persian folk-lore. Thus in the *Birds* (ll. 480 sqq. tr. Rogers):

> "Zeus won't in a hurry the sceptre restore to the Woodpecker tapping the Oak.
> In times prehistoric 'tis easily proved, by evidence weighty and ample,
> That Birds and not Gods were the rulers of men, and the lords of the world; for example
> Time was that the Persians were ruled by the cock, a king autocratic, alone;
> The sceptre he wielded or ever the names, Megabazus, Darius, were known;
> And the Persian he still by the people is called, from the Empire that once was his own."

Aristophanes clearly claims for the cock a position parallel to that of the woodpecker antedating Zeus; consequently the real king displaced in Persia is not Megabazus or Darius, but some deity more or less parallel to Zeus, in the Persian pantheon. Let us test the matter by enquiring whether the cock is a cult animal in Mithraism. A reference to Cumont[1] will show a number of cases where a cock attends the Mithraic twins Cautes and Cautopates.

The cock in the Mithra-cult.

"On donne souvent un coq pour compagnon à Cautes," with reference to monuments where the cock is seen at the feet of Cautes, or on his hand. On another monument the cock is said to stand at the feet of Cautopates.

It was natural to interpret these of a Solar cult, rather than of the thunder: but first interpretations are not always correct or final: and it does not by any means follow that the thunder-bird is excluded. Moreover, since Cautes, who has the cock on his hand, shows by that sign, in the manner known to archaeologists, that he has displaced in the cult what he is carrying, we may say that the Mithraic twins were originally a couple of cocks in the same way that in ancient Greece we identify them with a couple of woodpeckers.

This protective power of the Thunder against the Thunder can also be seen in the Zulu belief to which we have already alluded; for if the Zulu medicine man finds a thunder-bolt, 'he uses it as a heaven-medicine,' and so

[1] *Monuments relatifs au culte de Mithra*, I. 210, 212.

they say that the courage which they possess of contending with the heaven (i.e. the lightning) is that thunderbolt, which is found where the lightning has struck. Especially the bird also, which is called the lightning bird, they say that it is among the most powerful of all lightning-medicines[1].

Comparison of Indian thunder-god with Scandinavian.

We come in the next place to the anthropomorphic representation of thunder and lightning: and here our previous investigation has helped us, by showing us, in the case of the Lillooet Indians, an actual transformation of function from bird to man; and with that transference, the symbolic colour is also transferred. When one reads as above, the Lillooet Indian's account of the man with red face and red hair, who was seen every time a flash of lightning came, we are reminded of the thunder-god of our own ancestors. For Thor had red hair and a red beard, and when he blew therein it thundered and lightened. We see how close the American Indian had come to the Scandinavian idea.

Jupiter Capitolinus as Thunder.

But it is not only Thor that makes the connection between the earlier zoömorphs of the thunder and the red colour of the thunder. Jupiter Capitolinus himself was formerly a red-painted image; so that there could be no mistake in saying that he was, *par excellence*, the Thunder. He was *fulminate*, as far as colour could make him, and strangely like the Northern Thor. What the Dioscuri by their drapery suggest, he reinforces by a more complete statement.

The Açvins red.

With regard to the Dioscuri themselves, the association of red colour with them, is not a mere Roman peculiarity: it must be an Aryan idea, for we find that the *Veda* says that *red* is the proper colour of the Açvins (the Indian horsemen, who correspond to the Dioscuri). Accordingly Oldenberg says[2], 'in certain special sacrifices, along with a bull offered to Indra, there is introduced a red-coloured goat for the Açvins, for the Açvins equally are of red colour.' It has been pointed out, for example, that, in the old times,

[1] Callaway, *Religious System of the Amazulu*, p. 380.
[2] Oldenberg, *Veda*, p. 358.

a successful Roman general, to whom a triumph was granted, was considered as an actual impersonation of Jupiter, and to fulfil that dramatic action, he was painted red[1].

The Thunder-man among the Thompson Indians.

This painting of the triumphant Roman general may be compared with the humbler parallel of the man amongst the Thompson Indians of British Columbia to whom twins are given in charge when they are born. He wears a head-band, generally of the bark of *Eleagnus argentea*, into which are stuck eagle or hawk feathers. *He paints his whole face red*, and holds a fir-branch in each hand. Evidently the man is, here also, personating the thunder, and pretending to be the father of the twins[2].

That this is the meaning of the red-painted face may be seen from cases where the father of the twins himself takes on the decoration. Thus Boas tells us in his sixth report on the N.W. tribes of Canada[3], that the 'parents of twins must build a small hut in the woods far from the village. There they have to stay two years. The father must continue to clean himself by bathing in ponds for a whole year, and *must keep his face painted red.*' The father is raised to thunder-rank by the possession of twin-children.

What is true of the successful Roman general who impersonates Jupiter for one particular occasion, is probably true of the priests who represent him in other senses. Now these priests are the successors of a long line of medicine men, occupied *inter alia* with the management of the weather, and working by sympathetic and other magic, for the kind of weather that they want. If, then, we can show that red is the proper colour for such performances, it will not be difficult to

[1] We may refer to Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxiii. 36. 'Minium quoque...nunc inter pigmenta magnae auctoritatis, et quondam apud Romanos non solum magnae, sed etiam sacrae. Enumerat auctores Verrius, quibus credere sit necesse, Jovis ipsius simulacri faciem diebus festis minio illini solitam, triumphantumque corpora; sic Camillum triumphasse.'

See also Rushforth in Smith-Weyte-Marindin; *Diet. Ant.* ii. 894, who points out the identification of the triumphing general with the god. See Suet. *Aug.* 94; Juv. x. 38; Liv. x. 7, 10, etc.

[2] Teit, *The Thompson Indians*, p. 310 (*Jesup N. Pacific Expedition*, vol. i. 1898–1900).

[3] 1890, p. 39.

generalise for the priesthood the same colour as applies to the divinity. Here is one curious case from a very debased civilization, that of the negroes in Brazil, who have become nominally Roman Catholic, but have largely reverted to the savage cults of the West Coast of Africa from which they originally came. They build rude oratories (*terreiros*) in the manner of the African fetish huts, and have mingled in an indiscriminate manner the saint worship of the Roman Catholic Church with the original fetishism. In every one of these huts, for example, will be found images of Cosmas and Damian, one of the conventional Roman substitutes for twin-worship. This combination of cults they call the worship of the Orisas (or saints). In the catalogue of these, the third place is given to the thunder-god Shango; he is the thunder-god of the Yorubas in West Africa. His other name is Dzakouta, which means the 'hurler of stones,' by reference to the thunderbolts. The wooden figure of Shango which is found in all these oratories represents a priest with the insignia of the deity, and especially *with a flint hatchet in each hand, and another flint hatchet over his head.* And amongst the other insignia of this thunder-representing figure, not the least significant is his *red apron.* To the worship of Shango, an order of devotees is attached, *every one of whom is dressed in red.* And the Abbé Étienne Ignace, to whom we owe these observations, remarks that the colour is meant to represent the lightning; 'cette couleur, en effet, est de nature à rappeler les éclairs rutilants qui s'echappent des mains de cette divinité[1].'

Thunder-cult among negroes of Brazil.

The hatchets, too, as we have seen elsewhere, are thunder-axes, and can be paralleled in many a Greek and Oriental cult, as in the worship of Jupiter Dolichenus and amongst the ancient Cretans.

This single illustration from an out-of-the-way corner will show how the medicine men and priests of old-time thought of the thunder and lightning and their various representations and qualities. There can be no doubt that the red raiment of the Heavenly Twins at Rome means the

[1] *Anthropos* for 1908, pp. 886, sqq.

same as the red colour of the images, priests and worshippers amongst the negroes in Brazil.

The story of King Picus.

The transition from the red feathers of the woodpecker to the red raiment of the Dioscuri, can be studied very prettily in the inverse order, in Ovid's account of the metamorphosis of Picus, king of Latium, at the hands of Circe, the enchantress. According to Ovid, this enchantment was an act of feminine revenge upon Picus, because he did not respond to Circe's amatory proposals: he was, in fact, contracted elsewhere. Picus, the king of Ausonian lands, of Saturnian descent, a lover of horseflesh, and skilled in cavalry warfare, goes out to hunt the wild boar in the woods. Him Circe spies from out the glade, as he rode along, with two boar-spears in his left-hand, and (notice the horseman's raiment) robed in a scarlet chlamys buckled with gold[1].

Now notice what happens when Circe transforms him from king Picus into king Woodpecker: his wings become the colour of the robe, his golden buckle turns to feathers, and his neck is ringed with gold. Nothing remains of the ancient Picus except his name.

> Purpureum chlamydis pennae traxere colorem,
> Fibula quod fuerat, vestemque momorderat aurum,
> Pluma fit, et fulvo cervix praecingitur auro,
> Nec quicquam antiqui Pico nisi nomina restat,
>
> Ov. *Met.* XIV. 393–396.

Ovid's metamorphosis is an artificial one, in exactly the opposite direction to what really took place: the tradition was not a mythological one from man to bird, but a change of cult from ornithomorph to anthropomorph. The real king Picus is the woodpecker, who was king before Zeus. Let us then transform him back again, and we shall see that his golden throat and red feathers become the scarlet chlamys bound with gold of the thunder-man. The scarlet colour of king Picus' chlamys answers then to the red feathers of the woodpecker: and we have traced this colour through the bird form to the human form in theology, and in the

[1] Poeniceam fulvo chlamydem contractus ab auro, Ov. *Met.* XIV. 345.

images of the gods and the dress of their worshippers in ritual.

We can now return to the description of the Dioscuri which has come down to us in the ancient legends; no better instance could be found than Pausanias' story of the two young warriors from Messene, who dressed themselves up as Dioscuri, and deceived the Spartans who were gathered for a religious festival in honour of the Twins[1]. 'Once when the Lacedemonians were celebrating a festival in camp in honour of the Dioscuri, and were carousing and making merry after their mid-day meal, Gonippus and Panormus appeared to them, clad in white tunics and purple cloaks (χλαμύδας πορφυρᾶς, tr. red cloaks) riding on gallant steeds, with caps (πῖλοι) on their heads, and spears in their hands. When the Lacedemonians saw them, they did obeisance and prayed, thinking that the Dioscuri were come to the sacrifice. But when once the young men were in their midst, they galloped through them all, stabbing with their spears; and after laying many low, they rode off to Andania. Thus they dishonoured the sacrifices of the Dioscuri. It was this, I believe, that roused the hatred of the Dioscuri against the Messenians.'

The Messenians dress as Dioscuri.

No doubt the young Messenian cavalry-officers got themselves up for the sport by a proper equipment in caps, tunics, cloaks and colours. I think there can be no doubt that Pausanias means us to understand that their chlamydes were red.

The same thing may be noted in the account of the battle of the Sagras river, where the Locrians unexpectedly defeated the men of Crotona by the aid of the Dioscuri. The Latin version of this story is in Justin. The Locrians had appealed to the Spartans for aid, but the Spartans had a distaste to go so far afield, and recommended the Locrians to consult the Dioscuri. When the day of battle came, there appeared on the wings of the little Locrian army two young warriors of *strange appearance, and unusual size, riding white horses and wearing scarlet cloaks.* These

The Dioscuri help the Locrians.

[1] Pausanias, tr. Frazer, IV. 27. 1.

strange auxiliaries decided the day in favour of the Locrians, and the news of the battle was miraculously telegraphed on the very same day to Athens and Sparta[1].

The Twin Brethren in the Forum at Rome.

Another curious legendary point which betrays the origin of Castor and Pollux as the Sons of the Thunder will be found in the story of the sceptic who doubted their veracity, as they stood by the pool of Juturna and told the victory at the Lake Regillus. The Twins touched the unbeliever's beard. *It was at once changed to a red colour;* the victim of the miracle went ever afterwards by the name of Ahenobarbus, and transmitted the title to his clan. If the thing had happened in Northern Lands, he would have been nicknamed Rothbart, and every one would have recognised that he had had dealings with Thor, who bears the same supplementary name[2].

The Spartan army imitates the Twins.

Not only was it the case that the Dioscuri were believed to have worn red chlamydes on those occasions when they miraculously turned the tide of the battle, but there is reason to believe that the soldiers who were immediately under their patronage were also clothed in scarlet. Certainly this was the case with the Spartans, who used to go into battle carrying the sacred cross-beams (*δόκανα*) that were the visible representations of the presence of the Twin Brethren. They wore cloaks of the appropriate red colour and marched to the music of flutes that played a tune known as Castor's tune. I suppose this means that Castor was the inventor of it, so that we have here a case of the patronage of music by one of the Twins, as we have it in

[1] Justin. xx. 2, 3. 'Quo metu territi Locrenses ad Spartanos decurrunt; auxilium supplices deprecantur; illi longinqua militia gravati, auxilium a Castore et Polluce petere eos jubent....In cornibus quoque duo juvenes diverso a caeteris armorum habitu, eximia magnitudine et albis equis, et coccineis paludamentis, pugnare visi sunt, nec ultra apparuerunt, quam pugnatum est. Hanc admirationem auxit incredibilis famae velocitas; nam eodem die, qua in Italia pugnatum est, et Corintho et Athenis et Lacedaemone nuntiata est victoria.'

[2] The story will be found in Plutarch, *Aemilius Paullus*, xxv. *εἶθ' οἱ μὲν ἐπιψαῦσαι λέγονται τῆς ὑπήνης αὐτοῦ τοῖν χεροῖν ἁτρέμα μειδιῶντες· ἡ δὲ εὐθὺς ἐκ μελαίνης τριχὸς εἰς πύρραν μεταβαλοῦσα, τῷ μὲν λόγῳ πίστιν, τῷ δ' ἀνδρὶ παρασχεῖν ἐπίκλησιν τὸν Ἀηνόβαρβον, ὅπερ ἐστὶ χαλκοπώγωνα.*

the Theban pair, Zethus and Amphion, of whom the latter is reported to have built Thebes, or to have helped to build it, by the music of his lyre[1]. We remember also the Hebrew triad, Jabal, Jubal, and Tubal; of whom Jubal is the inventor of the harp and organ. If this is the right explanation of Castor's tune, this agrees with the idea that we get of him elsewhere, that he was the gentler of the pair, and his brother the professional ruffian.

At Sparta, then, the music was Dioscuric, and so was the drapery. On a certain occasion when an earthquake had destroyed Sparta, and when the Messenians were in revolt, the Spartans sent a messenger to Athens for help; and Aristophanes describes the appearance of the suppliant, seated on the altar, with pale face and *red coat*[2].

The Spartan army, then, was thoroughly Dioscurized. And it is natural to ask the question whether the same thing is not true of the Roman Knights, who rode in procession, called *Transvectio Equitum*, on the day of the Commemoration of the Battle of the Lake Regillus.

We have now shown, from many points of view, that red is the proper Dioscuric colour; our investigation having taken us into the earlier cults that preceded the great religions of Greece, Rome, and India, and into the ornithomorphic worship which precedes some, at least, of the anthropomorphic representations of deity. The colour of the thunder has affected all its living representatives. Moreover the suspicion arises that this may apply, to some extent, to the vegetable and inanimate representatives of the Thunder. Here is an interesting case. We have seen that, in general,

[1] Cf. Marlowe, *Dr Faustus*, Act II. sc. 2:

> 'Have not I made blind Homer sing to me?
> . . . . . .
> And hath not he that built the walls of Thebes,
> With ravishing sounds of his melodious harp,
> Made music with my Mephistophilis?'

[2] This is pointed out by Frazer, *Attis*, p. 108, who gives the reference to Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* (1138, seq.). Other allusions (*v.* Frazer, *in loc.*) will be found in Plutarch, *Lycurgus*, 22; Xenophon, *Respub. Lacedaem.* XI. 3; Aristotle in a scholion to Aristophanes, *Acharn.* 320; Plutarch, *Instit. Lacon.* 24.

the thunder-tree is the oak, though there are traces of other dwellings for the mysterious flame: at Sparta, the Twins were detected once in a wild pear-tree. In Palestine, also, sacred oaks are the fashion, and it is from such sacred oak (or terebinth) that the Thunder-god and the Twins came to visit Abraham. There is, however, another tree, the pomegranate tree, whose name, Rimmon, has perplexed the lexicographers. They usually content themselves by saying it is etymologically of unknown origin. As Rimmon (Assyrian, Rammanu) is the name for one of the thunder-gods of Mesopotamia, we are naturally invited to consider the pomegranate as a thunder-tree; and anyone who has ever seen a pomegranate orchard, aflame with scarlet blossoms in the early spring, will have no doubt as to the reasons of the identification.

The pomegranate as Thunder-tree:

It is possible that this observation may lead us to the reason for the sanctity of the holly-tree, and the rowan-tree (mountain-ash) in our own islands[1].

the holly-tree: the rowan-tree.

Even inanimate objects will sometimes furnish us with the colour suggestion. Blinkenberg reports that in the islands off Esthonia, people believe that the thunder-stone *turns red on the approach of a storm*[2].

[1] The rowan-tree is simply the *red* tree; not from the English *roan* which goes back through Italian *rovano* to the Latin *rufus*; but from a Norse form said to be derived from a word meaning *red* and supposed to be related to the Icelandic *reynir*: see Skeat, *Etym. Dict.*

[2] The reference is to Russwurm, *Eibofolke*, II. 249. The whole passage is important. 'Während eines Gewitters werden die Donnerkeile ganz roth (I. of Worms), und man legt sie dann in das Gefäss, aus welchem das Vieh trinkt, damit es durch den Schreck beim Donner nicht Schaden leide: denn dadurch wird die Milch ganz kraftlos und giebt keinen Rahm (Dagö, Wichterpal, and Worms). Die Donnerkeile sichern auch gegen Einschlagen des Blitzes (Wichterpal, Worms)....Wenn man Korn aussäet, legt man sie in das Külmit (Kjolmt) aus welcher man streuet, so schadet in dem Jahre... das Gewitter dem Korne nicht,...wer daher einen Donnerkeil findet, der darf ihn nicht weggeben, weil er sonst sein Glück verscherzen würde (Worms).'

CHAPTER V

THE TWIN-CULT IN WEST AFRICA

We have spent some time in explaining the beliefs which savage peoples have as to the nature of thunder and lightning, and have taken pains to point out, without attempting an exhaustive treatment, the wide-spread idea that the thunder is a bird. It was necessary to do this because of another belief, also widely held, which is our main study, that Twins are the Children of Thunder. It was impossible to deal adequately with the genesis of the Twin-cult, unless we had some previous idea of Thunder-cult. Now that we are sufficiently informed on that point, we can go on to discuss the Twin-cults more minutely. Is the taboo on Twins as universal as it is early? Are there any wide stretches of human life or of human history that know nothing of such a taboo? And does the taboo, where it exists, work out from a Fear into anything that can be called a Religion? To answer these questions, we want to know more about peoples savage of to-day, and about peoples less cultured than ourselves in bygone days.

We shall begin with Africa, because there we shall find civilization most elementary, and we may therefore be able to get nearest to the origin of the Great Fear, and to mark most certainly its early developments. There are still many parts of Africa, where we only know the coast-line, and a little of the hinterland. Where the coast-line belongs to a progressive European power, the custom of killing twins is sure to be in process of disappearance; and on this account, the evidence is apt to be elusive. We shall, however, be able to establish quite easily the general existence of Twin-

cults all over Africa, both amongst the negroes, and amongst the Bantus.

Dapper's Geography.

I believe the first to publish information about the Twin-cult in West Africa was Dr Olfert Dapper, whose book entitled *Nauwkeurige Beschrijvinge der Afrikaansche Gewesten* was published at Amsterdam in 1668. It certainly is strange that we should have no English or Portuguese relations of an earlier date. The important thing about Dapper is that he is a scientific geographer, and describes countries and peoples he has never visited; he tells us, in his preface, that he obtained much information about the country between Cape Verde and the kingdom of Lovango (Loango) from the writings of Samuel Blomert, which had been handed to him by the great Leyden scholar, Isaac Vossius: and he mentions that Blomert's account was very full, and that it contained a large amount of information not previously recorded. Blomert had, as Dapper tells us, lived several years in Africa.

Blomert's travels.

Twins killed in Benin.

It may be assumed, then, that it was from Blomert that Dapper obtained the statement that in Benin 'no twins are ever found; but as may be supposed, they are born there as well as elsewhere, for it is suspected that either of them is every time choked by the midwife, the giving birth to twins being considered a dishonour in the country, for they firmly believe that one man cannot be the father of two children at one time.'

In this account we have evidence that twins are killed, a conjecture as to how they are got rid of, and the native reason for their removal. We know enough about the Twin-cult to inspire us with confidence in Dapper's statements. The case was otherwise with those who followed him, as we shall presently see.

Muller on the Gold-Coast.

Twins of same sex live.

In 1673, W. T. Muller published at Hamburg an account of a part of the Gold Coast[1]. In this we find (p. 184) that when a woman brings into the world twins of the same sex, they preserve them alive. If, however, they should be of

[1] *Die Afrikansche auf der Guineischen Gold-cust gelegene Landschaft Fetu.*

opposite sexes, they select one of them to live, and kill the other. We shall see, later on, cases of especial severity towards twins of opposite sexes, and reasons assigned for that severity[1].

In 1704 there was published at Utrecht, by Bosman, a work entitled *Nauwkeurige Beschrijvinge van de Guinese*, which contained accounts by D. van Nyendael of the manners and customs of the natives on the Gulf of Guinea. Bosman's description of Guinea.

Bosman, in his preface, challenges Dapper's statements, and so does Nyendael. They argue that Dapper had never visited Benin, and that his accounts are contradicted by their own. That Dapper was never in Benin, we have his own statement for; he was not a traveller, but a scholar writing on Universal Geography; that his evidence contradicted v. Nyendael's is not to his discredit. The discord brings at once to the front the important fact that precisely opposite views of twins may be taken in the very same district. Thus v. Nyendael relates that 'if a woman bear two children at birth, it is believed to be a good omen, and the king is immediately informed thereof, and he causes public joy to be expressed by all sorts of music....In all parts of the Benin territory, twin-births are esteemed good omens, except at Arebo, where they are of the contrary opinion, and treat the twin-bearing woman very barbarously; for they actually kill both mother and infants, and sacrifice them to a certain devil, which they fondly imagine harbours in a wood, near the village. But if the man happens to be more than ordinarily tender, he generally buys off his wife, by sacrificing a female slave in her place: but the children are, without possibility of redemption, obliged to be made the satisfactory offerings which this savage law requires.' Twins welcomed in Benin (?) except at Arebo.

So it is clear that v. Nyendael had come across both interpretations of the twin-taboo (though he makes too little

[1] 'Wanns geschieht dass die Mütter Zwillinge eines Geschlechtes zur Welt träget, so behalten sie dieselbe beim Leben. Sind aber die Zwillinge unterschiedenes Geschlechtes, ein Knäblein und ein Mägdlein, so erwählen sie eines darausz, welches sie wollen, das ander aber wird von ihnen erwehnter massen getödtet...Gleicher Gestalt wird auch das zehende Kind, welches eine Mütter gebiehret, unschuldiger Weise getödtet.'

of the savagery of the Guinea negroes), and that he had also detected the beginning of the modification of the more savage interpretation. There was, therefore, no need to challenge Dapper's statements which might have been as true as his own: v. Nyendael goes on to give cases which he had known; the first one, which he dates in the year 1690, was of a native merchant, whose wife had borne twins: the merchant redeemed his wife with a slave, but sacrificed the children. Next year, the same thing happened to a priest's wife, and the priest sacrificed, with his own hands, the two children, and a substituted slave woman. Exactly a year later, the priest's wife repeated the offence of twin-bearing, and v. Nyendael suspects that she atoned for her fertility by death.

We are now in possession of trustworthy information as to the state of opinion on twins in the district of Benin. They were liked and not liked; the centre of dislike appears to have been Arebo. More than a hundred years later, Benin was visited by Lieut. (afterwards Commander) John King of the British Navy. It was somewhere between the years 1815 and 1821[1]. He saw much service on the Guinea Coast, but his account of Benin appears only to be known in a French translation[2].

Lieut. King.

Lieut. King notes that the barbarous custom of exposing twins which formerly existed at Arebo (lat. 5° 80′, long. 5° 10′) has now introduced itself at Gatto: the children were placed in an earthen pot, face upwards, and allowed to perish on the top of a hill.

From this statement we arrive at a confirmation of v. Nyendael's statement about Arebo (unless King should be quoting from v. Nyendael); we have also the very doubtful statement that the inhumanity of twin-murder was spreading elsewhere. It is not at all likely that the Guinea natives were becoming more inhuman with the course of time: the natural explanation is that the observers were coming across more traces of the murders of twins, and not that more twins were

[1] See O'Byrne's *Naval Biography*. Lond. 1849.
[2] *Journal des Voy.* vol. XIII. Paris, 1823.

being murdered. As to their placing of twins in earthen pots on the top of a hill, that is confirmed by later travellers; the top of the hill only means that portions of the country are tabooed for the purpose of getting rid of the dangerous invaders. Any part of the bush, for instance, into which twins have been thrown, becomes, as we shall see, infected with the taboo of the exposed children, and will be universally avoided, except for the purpose of such exposures.

Captain John Adams.

When Captain John Adams published in 1823 his *Remarks on the Country from Cape Palmas to the River Congo*, he noticed the same variety in the treatment of twins. He tells us (p. 37) that all twins born in Fanti-land are called by the same name Attah, which signifies twin, and that the mothers are held in great esteem for being thus prolific. Whereas in Bonny, the reverse takes place: 'the mothers of twins are compared to goats and are not infrequently destroyed.' We shall find this comparison of the twin-mother with the multiple-bearing lower animals in many parts of the world: it is not, however, to be regarded as the root idea of the great taboo, whose leading characteristic is fear rather than disgust.

Twins welcomed by Fantis but not in Bonny.

Captain Hugh Crow.

Captain Hugh Crow tells us in his *Memoirs*, published in London in 1830, that at Bonny both the mother and the twins are put to death. Here we have the taboo in its extreme form, without any modification. So far we have been following what may be called a history of the discovery of the Twin-cults; and the authors quoted, most of whom we have verified, will be found collected in Ling Roth's book on *Greater Benin*[1]. We shall obtain some more information for our purpose from this valuable book. In recent times, the evidence of travellers and of missionaries has greatly extended our knowledge. We will continue the examination of the beliefs of the natives in the Niger Delta, making notes from point to point of any important developments in the cult.

For example, there lies before me a magazine which makes reports of a mission in the Niger Delta called the

[1] *Greater Benin.* Halifax, 1903.

Twins killed in Qua Iboe district.

Qua Iboe Mission Quarterly, and relates to work carried on near the mouth of the Qua Iboe River. In the issue for August, 1911, Mr R. W. Smith reports a visit he paid to a native church at Enon. He describes the change which the Gospel was making in the people, and by contrast speaks of what had happened upon a previous visit. He tells us that 'about two months previous to this service, I heard the people wailing in the village. Some young fellows asked me to come and see a woman who had just given birth to twins. I went with them to a little dilapidated hut. The woman was sitting on the ground, and the children were lying on the clay floor. There was no one to help her.

'I went outside and asked the women to do something. They told me that Twins were a sign of God's wrath; if they assisted this woman, their own children would be blighted. I must say to their credit, they looked greatly distressed, and I am sure would have liked to help, *but this horrible fear possessed them to such a degree as almost to paralyse their minds.* I caught the husband, who wanted to run away, and tried to make him help, but he moaned and groaned so much that I was glad to get rid of him. One of the young fellows and myself washed the infants, and as the woman refused to suckle them, I got a tin of milk, and we tried to feed them. For two days we kept them alive, but at last they died.'

This very simple account of the Twin-cult in our own time will show clearly the extent to which the Great Fear still prevails, stronger than neighbourliness, and more potent than the love of father, or even mother, for the children. In the next issue of the same magazine (Nov. 1911, p. 199), Mr Smith gives a further account of his conflict, as a Christian teacher, with the great Taboo. As it brings out some further important features of the Cult, I transcribe some sentences.

Twin-mothers banished.

'You have heard how women who give birth to twins are treated in Qua Iboe. *The children are killed and the women banished to a village where only mothers of twins are allowed to live.* The man who was foremost in welcoming me

to the town (of Ikot-Idung) had five wives. One, whose name was Chonko, his favourite, immediately after my arrival, gave birth to twins. The father came and said "What shall I do." I said, "Do you want to send her away?" and he said, "No"; I said, "Alright, my house is nearly finished, are you prepared to leave your own compound and take your wife there and nurse her?" He assented and went. *The custom is to condemn a house where twins have been born.* The people said to me, "Look! we have built you a nice house, now you've gone and spoilt it, because you will have very bad fortune if you live there after that woman is gone." The chiefs threatened the man. The walls and floor were very damp, and the mud had not dried. He caught a severe cold sleeping on the ground, yet he remained firm, and to-day his wife is living with him. This brave stand has influenced the minds of all, and I hope to see the cruel custom soon done away with completely.'

The writer has given us two fresh pieces of information; one, that the taboo on the unfortunate woman and children extends to their house, and, he might have added, to all their possessions. A Biblical parallel may be found in the story of Achan in the book of Joshua, who had touched tabooed spoil, with lamentable results to himself and all that was his.

The second point of importance is that the woman might be expelled to live in a place where other similar tabooed women live; in other words, we have the suggestion of the formation of a twin-town or sanctuary.

Mr Smith did not notice, that the abolition of the twin-taboo which he was trying to accomplish radically by the introduction of the Christian faith, was already begun by a slower evolutionary method. Apparently, it was already the custom to spare the woman, and to assign her a permanent exile in place of an immediate death.

Many more testimonies to the beliefs of the negroes in the Delta of the Niger and in adjacent districts might be quoted at this point. Some of them have already been given, or reference has already been made to them in the

second chapter of my book on the *Cult of the Heavenly Twins*, and it is not necessary to repeat them, simply for the sake of making a complete literature on the Twin-cult. It is proper, however, to allude briefly to such parts of the evidence of travellers and of missionaries as throw into relief either the inner meaning of the cult, or the various stages of development through which it passes.

Miss Mary Kingsley's story.

One of the most striking and pathetic accounts of the hold which the twin-terror has upon the native mind is given by Miss Kingsley in her *Travels in West Africa*[1]. She relates the case of a poor slave woman who had become an outcast through bearing twins, and the way in which the children were saved by the heroic intervention of Miss Slessor, a lady missionary at Okyou. The story should be read in Miss Kingsley's own pages, which are abbreviated in Mr Ling Roth's book on *Greater Benin*, and still more by myself in the work just referred to. A single sentence from Miss Kingsley lets in a flood of light, without her knowing it, on the history of the taboo: 'All children are thrown (into the bush) who have arrived in this world in the way considered unorthodox, or who cut their teeth in an improper manner. *Twins are killed among all the Niger Delta Tribes*, and in districts out of English control, the mother is killed too, except in O-mon, where the sanctuary is. There Twin mothers and their children are exiled to an island in the Cross River. They have to remain on the island, and if any man goes across and marries one of them, he has to remain on the island too.'

Twin children and others exposed.

Twin-sanctuaries.

The opening sentence as to children born in an unorthodox manner is a delicate allusion to another savage terror, the dread of children born feet first. It is an important study, as the history of Ancient Rome, with its worship of Venus Verticordia, appears to involve European peoples in the same primitive belief and dread. We shall come across more of this sort of thing. With regard to the twin-births, however, of which Miss Kingsley remarks that 'there is always a sense of there being something uncanny

[1] p. 324.

about twins,' the passage which we have quoted conveys an excellent idea both of the extent of the taboo, its original intensity, and the mode in which the taboo has been gradually lifted. The reference to the sanctuary on the Cross River is of the first importance, as we shall see later. It means that the origin of sanctuaries is to be sought, in part at least, in the isolation of twins with their mothers and attached or annexed friends. Here again we shall want to examine the matter in the light of Greek and Roman origins.

Sanctuaries on the Cross River.

The Cross River, which is a little to the east of the Niger, after passing through the district of O-mon, to which Miss Kingsley refers, runs out into the Gulf of Guinea at Old Calabar; and from a missionary of the Calabar Mission (quoted by me in *Cult*, pp. 12–14), named Goldie, we obtained the same statement as that made by Miss Kingsley with regard to the formation of sanctuaries[1], to the following effect: that 'the mother, who was visited with the much dreaded affliction of a twin-birth, was no doubt formerly destroyed with her infants; but we found on our arrival that, though she was driven out of the town, and *mourned for as dead*, she was permitted to live in the farm districts, and a hamlet was built on the outskirts of each town, called the '*twin-mother's village*,' in which those resided who were undergoing the banishment for life.'

Mr Goldie on formation of twin-villages.

This passage also is illuminating: it shows that the twin-sanctuary is something much more common than the single island in the Cross River, of which Miss Kingsley speaks; in other words, if the course of human evolution in Europe is anything like what we see in the Niger Delta, the progressive civilization of antiquity must have been prolific in Twin-towns to an extent comparable with the abnormal fertility of the female population. There should be many Twin-towns, as Mr Goldie properly calls them, and we shall have to keep our eyes open for such towns, and such islands, as bear marks, in their nomenclature or otherwise, of an origin in the twin-taboo.

Returning to Mr Goldie's account, it will be found that

[1] Goldie, *Calabar and its Mission*, pp. 24 seq.

he gives a similar account to what we find elsewhere of the exposures of twin-children in the bush, where their bodies are commonly carried in earthen pots, and left for the ants or the hyenas to devour. It is not pleasant to describe these cruelties, but it must be done to some extent, if we are to realise the intensity of the twin-taboo; for without a proper realisation of that intensity, we shall constantly be disposed towards a sceptical attitude, and be asking ourselves the question whether it is possible that a taboo of the kind we are discussing can have had the wide range or the deep hold upon the human mind which we attribute to it; and it is only as we observe how every other natural instinct gives way before it, that we see how potent the taboo must have been, and is, in the formation of belief.

Thus Mr Goldie reports of the case in which he unsuccessfully intervened to save certain exposed twin-children, that the mother refused any help, and would rather die than become a twin-mother. The poor slave woman of whom Miss Kingsley and Miss Slessor make report has a rankling sense of injustice with regard to the way in which she has been treated by her people, and the destruction of her goods and chattels, but she has not the least maternal instinct towards the rescued children, whom she appears to detest as cordially as any of the rest of the community.

Extent and intensity of Taboo.

An English doctor who was called in to the assistance of a negro woman in this region reports that, when the first child of a certain pair of twins arrived, the women in the court-yard made themselves ecstatically happy over it, until it was whispered from within the house, that a second child was *en route*, when they dashed the helpless babe to the ground and fled as if they were escaping from wild beasts.

An even stronger proof of the hold of the taboo will be found by most Christians in its power to resist the affections produced and developed by the reception of the Faith: it is difficult, or has been in recent times, to persuade native Christians to admit to their fellowship in the Church any persons marked by the taint of a twin-birth[1]. These, and

Twins excluded from Christian Churches.

[1] See *Cult of the Heavenly Twins*, pp. 14, 15.

similar instances which might be given will help us to understand why we are right in laying emphasis on the place which such a taboo must have assigned to it in human history.

It is interesting, also, and necessary to watch the variations in the treatment of the subject by tribes who would have been expected, from their physical contiguity, to think the same. Mr Goldie, to whom we have just referred, points this out clearly[1]. He tells us that 'a small tribe near Ikorofiong (on the Cross River) kill both mother and children; the people of Akaba, another small tribe in our neighbourhood, drive the poor mother into the bush, and allow her to perish of want. The Calabar people sometimes pick them up, the women going to the side of the river to hail any canoe passing. *Another tribe drives off both father and mother*, but the father is allowed to return to society on paying a fine, and catching a certain animal without killing it.' That the father should be taboo is rare and not quite intelligible: nor do I see the meaning of the catching of the animal referred to. Is the animal in any way concerned with the parentage in the minds of the savages? One would like to know. So far, at all events, we have not found the West African negroes assigning the twin-children to the parentage of the Thunder, or employing them as Rain-makers, in consequence of a Sky or Thunder paternity. Perhaps they are not commonly in want of rain.

Mockler-Ferryman on Niger superstitions.

To return to our collection of facts; here is an extract from a traveller through the Niger country, which explains Miss Kingsley's reference to a Taboo on children who do not cut their teeth properly, and throws light again on the variety that appears in the cult. We are told by Mockler-Ferryman in his work on *British Nigeria*[2] that 'certain births are considered unlucky; in the Niger Delta, for instance, a woman who bears twins is proclaimed an outcast, and her offspring destroyed. Children who cut their upper teeth first are also supposed to be under evil influence,

[1] *Cult of the Heavenly Twins*, p. 15.
[2] p. 231.

and are made away with, and the child of a mother dying in giving it birth is buried alive. But these superstitions are not universal, for in some districts twins are considered the greatest good-luck; and whereas some tribes offer up albino babies to their gods, others reverence them.'

Hence we have a suggestion, not very definite, that in certain cases the gods were supposed to be implicated in abnormal births.

Major Partridge on Cross River natives.

We have already referred to the beliefs of the natives in that part of Nigeria which borders on the Cross River. For this district we have a body of official information from Major Partridge, which will show some of the difficulties the British Government has had to contend with in its attempt to extirpate the twin-taboo[1]. He tells us (p. 38) that 'one day a man living in a village distant only half an hour's walk from the town complained to me in court that, his wife having given birth to twins, the villagers wanted to drive away the mother and infants, and make him pay to the community a fine of five goats. (Here the father is clearly sharing the responsibility for what has occurred.) The chief of the village was summoned to attend court, and stated that, though their ancient custom forbade any mother of twins to go near the village stream, the woman in question had actually drawn water therefrom, and had thus polluted the stream, and that in consequence of her action a leopard was infesting their neighbourhood, and so they wanted to banish her and her babies and fine the father. (It is not quite certain whether this means for polluting the stream or for producing twins; perhaps it means both.) I had to explain that this custom of theirs was unnecessary in the eyes of the Government, and to issue an order that the man and his family were not to be molested, and the complainant did not appear again. *The natives believe that when twins are born, one is the product of the mother's intercourse with a man, and the other of her intercourse with an evil spirit,* and she is looked upon as no better than a she-goat or a dog, and driven forth, while her babies are either drowned, or cast into the

Twins due to double paternity.

[1] Partridge, *Cross River Natives* (Hutchinson, 1905).

bush to perish.' The latter part of this statement is, I suspect, an alternative explanation for the former part; we shall find it common to contrast the prolific woman with the lower animals: the allusion to a spirit ancestry, and the consequent differentiation of the twins, is of the highest importance for our enquiry. Some further notes may be made from Major Partridge's book[1]. An account is given (p. 62) of a visit to Ezialli, said to be the richest of the Aro rulers. The visitor learns in conversation that the Aros regard the Vulture as a sacred bird, and that it has hitherto been the custom, when a woman bears twins, to kill both the mother and her offspring.

Some further notes on the twin-taboo are given (pp. 257 seq.); we are told that the husband of a twin-mother repudiates her, and she is driven away from the community. The twins were generally to be killed, but there were exceptions. When the mother was a free-born woman, properly married according to native custom, *one baby was destroyed, but she was permitted to rear the other.* When she was a slave, one was destroyed, and the other given to another woman to bring up. At a case heard at Ogada, the plaintiff being an Ikwe, and the defendant an Eshupum, an old woman of Ogada stated that 'the old Ikwe custom is that, when a woman bears twins, they drive her away. Sometimes they bring her here and give her to us, but they take back the children when old enough to leave their mother.' This shows that the custom varies considerably. *Among the Igarras, up the Niger, twins are welcomed and considered as lucky.*

Ikwe natives expel Twin-mother.

Igarras regard twins as lucky.

Perhaps the most important study of the twin-taboo on the Lower Niger, is that given in Leonard's book on *The Lower Niger and its tribes*[2]. Leonard brings out many important details of the influence of the taboo on the life of the persons that are, or may be, affected by it. For

[1] The full title of which is: *Cross River Natives*, being some notes on the primitive pagans of Obibura Hill District, Southern Nigeria, including a description of the circles of upright sculptured stones on the left bank of the Aweyong River.

[2] Published in 1906 (Macmillan).

instance (p. 310) 'on the birth of twins—looked on as this is, as unnatural and monstrous—all domestic utensils are at once destroyed.' Leonard suggests that the destruction of twins, if not exactly a sacrifice to ancestral spirits, is closely akin to it. It is an offence against the ancestral gods that must, of necessity, be removed, along with the offending cause, the woman. He continues[1] with the important observation that the origin of the custom is 'lost in antiquity, and due apparently to the conception that one birth at a time is the distinguishing feature between man and all other creation, and therefore the birth of twins was regarded as an unnatural event, to be ascribed solely to the influence of malign spirits, acting in conjunction with the power of evil....Indeed, according to their ancient faith, although two energies are required to produce a unit, the production of two such units is out of the common groove, therefore unnatural, because it implies at once a spirit duality, or enforced possession of some intruding and malignant demon, in the yielding and offending person of a member of the household....For, in their opinion, the natural product of two human energies, as a single unit, is only endowed or provided with one soul-spirit. *The custom that prevails among the Ibo or Brass men, of allowing one, always the first-born of the twins, to live,* is a practical admission of this conception.'

Second twin due to spirit ancestry.

Here we have the dual paternity clearly brought out, and the important additional fact that among the Ibo or people on the Brass river, the first-born is reckoned to be of human parentage. We ought, on this belief, to say Castor and Pollux, not Pollux and Castor; Zethus and Amphion for the Theban twins would also be the right order as is clear also from the 'divine Amphion' where Amphion only means somebody's twin. Leonard goes on to state in the strongest terms the 'horror and detestation' which twins produce in every home in the Niger Delta. 'It is the standing law of the priests that no time is to be lost in removing the unfortunate infants. This is generally done by throwing them

[1] l.c. p. 458 seq.

into the Bush, to be devoured by wild animals, or the equally ferocious driver ants, or sometimes, as is done by the Ibibio, Ijo, and other coast tribes, by *setting them adrift on creeks in roughly made baskets of reeds and bulrushes, when they are soon drowned or swallowed by sharks or crocodiles*[1].' Leonard goes on to explain the various modifications of the taboo. The mother, for instance, may be quarantined in a detached hut for sixteen days. After this they go through purification rites, ending up with the sacrifice of a chicken or pup, and with the removal of the chalk which had previously been smeared upon them. We shall meet elsewhere with this custom of whitewashing the twins. The father also pays to the priests a fine of about 1600 manillas (say £6. 13*s.* 4*d.*).

On the subject of the formation of twin-towns, Leonard is perfectly explicit.

Formation of twin-towns in the Ibibio country.

'In the Ibibio country, and formerly among the Efik,... *the women, looked on as unclean for the rest of their lives, are obliged to reside in villages, which are known as Twin-towns.*' The husband continues to maintain the wife, and the children are returned when weaned, i.e. at the end of two or three years. Should the woman have children of any other member of the community, the possession of them reverts to her original husband. Special sacrifices are made when a twin-child is received back from taboo, as well as in all cases of intercourse between the tabooed and the community. By this means, the women of the community are supposed to be protected against the contagion of the twin-curse.' But what is to be done if the first offending woman should repeat the offence? 'In this case,' says Leonard, 'the probabilities are that the death of the mother would be demanded by the household and by the community as well. Or, if not killed, she would be driven into the bush and left to die, although, if discovered by a stranger, he is at liberty to claim her as his own property, that is, at least, if he feels

[1] This striking variation in the treatment of twins by the coast tribes in the Bay of Benin, us thinking whether this may not be the real meaning of the stories told of the exposure of Moses and Sargon. The parallel story of Romulus and Remus must be kept in mind.

inclined to run the risk of a venture so truly provocative of offence.' It is a natural assumption that the stranger, so annexing a twin mother, even with the modified taboo described above, would find himself migrating to a twin-village, or furnishing in his own dwelling the nucleus of such a village.

Rites of purification.

Leonard goes on to describe the method by which the Ibo clans purify house and community on the arrival of twins. All the people in that quarter of the village appear to be affected, and have to throw away their food and drink and half-burnt firewood; in short, everything which might be affected by the contagion. It is not, however, stated that the house itself in which the twin-birth takes place is destroyed or abandoned. To that extent some modification of taboo appears to have been introduced: at an early stage we may be sure that the house or hut would have been abandoned or destroyed. The mother, herself, is promptly isolated; and we have this important supplementary statement that when a woman is delivered of a child, and it is known that another is to follow, 'she is instantly carried into the bush, and whenever the second is born it is immediately thrown away, while the first-born is retained, and named *In'meabo,* which means two people.' We may probably infer that this second child is the offence, and is due to the spirit parentage. The name should be noticed, for it is characteristic of the situation that twins have special names. The same thing occurs at Brass where the first-born is kept, and the other thrown away. In this case, if the child is a male it is called *Isele,* and if a female *Sela,* both names meaning *Selected.* It is implied by the name that one has been destroyed, but that it is settled in advance which one is to be kept. It is not a case of 'that is the one that I should keep.' The election is according to law and not according to grace. Leonard also alludes to the case, hinted at by Miss Kingsley, of a child whose manner of birth is irregular. Such a child is called *Mkporooko,* i.e. *bad or evil feet,* and its birth causes the same taboo as a twin-birth. *The mother, in such a case, goes to the Twin-town.*

So much, then, is clear, that the majority of the tribes of the Niger Delta hold strongly the belief in the twin-curse; there may be some local modifications, but the general prohibition of intercourse with those affected by twin-birth, the avoidance of common roads, dwellings and markets, is practically universal.

We have already alluded (p. 61, *sup.*) to Major Partridge's statement that higher up the Niger, among the Igarras, the taboo is interpreted in exactly the opposite sense. This is confirmed by Leonard, who shows that they regard the uncanny event as due to good spirits rather than malign. In this case, then, Twins are regarded as a blessing. Yet the Igarra tribes are in contact on the south and on the east with the Ibo tribes, who take the gloomy view of the situation. Even more curious is the reversal of judgement with regard to the relative importance of the twins; *the second-born is regarded as the elder*: it is assumed that the birth-right follows the younger child of the pair; the real elder has sent the younger into the world in advance of him in token of his superiority. This curious and important belief will have to be alluded to again, when we come to discuss certain Biblical twins. The Igarra, however, make no difference in the treatment of twins, who are regarded as exactly equal and who, when adult, are married on the same day.

Second-born twin has primogeniture rights.

An annual twin-day festival is kept up, in honour of the birth of all twins in the community. Twins are supposed to have special powers: they cannot be poisoned and they have mantic foresight as to children not yet born. All of this is very important. When I was first engaged on the West African beliefs, I did not immediately get evidence of the dual paternity, or the intervening spirit father. This comes out with clearness in the statements of Partridge and Leonard. The latter has especially thrown light upon the savage mind and the savage custom. It remains to be seen whether in any of the districts described the second paternity can be identified with Sky, Rain, or Thunder: or whether some other explanations may be the ones which express more exactly what the natives really think.

There are still some customs attaching to the twin-cult in the Niger Delta, which need to be brought out, as well as some further confirmations of statements already reported.

Köler on Bonny natives.

In 1848 Hermann Köler published at Göttingen, a book called *Einige Notizen über Bonny*. He remarks[1], with regard to the customs of the natives at Bonny, that, however little trouble a single child may give to its mother, yet if she were brought to bed of twins, it would mean very ill fortune for her: the twins would be evidence of her guilt, and the mother and children would be put to death[2]. Here we have again the implication that one man cannot be the parent of two simultaneous children.

In Mockler-Ferryman's account of Major Claude Macdonald's mission to the Niger and Benue rivers, we have some important statements[3]. At Sierra Leone, the party were received by a missionary, a native of the place, named Strong, who told them 'Strange tales of the barbarism of the people of Onitsha,—tales of human sacrifices, *destruction of twins*, and slavery, which we listened to with horror and disgust[4].' Onitsha is on the Niger river, half-way from Lokoja to the coast. When they called on the king of Onitsha, they made a proclamation in the name of the Queen of England 'against all human sacrifices, twin-murders and slavery. The poor king, being a good Conservative, begged that the customs might last out his time[5].' With regard to the Ibo tribes of whom we have written above, they report[6] that 'one of the most barbarous customs of the Ibo tribes is the destruction of twins. A woman, by giving birth to twins is considered to have committed an unnatural offence, *and to have made herself akin to the lower order of animals.* Her twins are taken from her and thrown into the bush to perish, whilst the miserable woman herself is proclaimed an outcast, and driven from her village. No greater insult can be offered to an Ibo woman than to call her *twin-bearer*, or

Onitsha natives destroy twins.

Twin-mothers compared to lower animals.

Insults and curses.

[1] l.c. p. 102.

[2] 'So wenig Umstände aber ein einziges Kind der Mutter macht, so unglücklich ist es fur sie von Zwillingen entbunden zu werden; es gilt als Beweis von Schuld, und Mutter und Kinder werden getödtet.'

[3] Mockler-Ferryman, *Up the Niger*. Lond. 1892.

[4] p. 20. [5] p. 23. [6] p. 39.

to hold up two fingers at her. This barbarism, at one time common in all Ibo tribes, has been considerably abated amongst the tribes dwelling near the main river, owing to the exertions of the Royal Niger Company.'

The interesting form of symbolic cursing in the Niger region should be noted. It has important ecclesiastical parallels to which we may allude later.

The same observation, which we previously noted, with regard to the appreciation of twins by the Igbarra tribes, is also recorded by the Macdonald expedition: they say[1], 'Cannibalism is not practised by the Igbirras, and twins are worshipped under the impression that their birth brings luck to the family.' This is the strongest statement that we have come across yet of the devotion to twins of certain African tribes.

From another writer we obtain confirmation of the peculiar form of cursing prevalent in the Niger Delta. In a book of J. Smith on *Trade and Travels in the Gulph of Guinea* (Lond. 1851), we find as follows[2]: 'In the Bonny, woe be to the women who have two children at a birth, or who even become mothers of more than four, for their children are destroyed and the woman banished. The greatest possible insult you can offer an inhabitant of this place, is to call him *nam-a-shoobra,* meaning *one of twins,* or, as they would say, half a man: *nam-a-shoobra* also conveys the idea of being the son of one of the lower animals'; [not necessarily; the writer has misunderstood the comparison of the twin-mother with the lower animals]. 'The fiend-like expression of the countenance of a chief when applying this dreadful blasphemous language to a slave, *with arm and two fingers extended,* pointing at the unlucky offender, and thus intimating by sign as well as by speech that he is only half a man, is one of those displays of human passion often witnessed, but not easily to be described or forgotten.' The writer does not understand the twin-curse, and his explanation about being half a man is probably his own imagination. The situation described is intelligible enough, in view of what has preceded.

J. Smith on Gulf of Guinea.

Twin-cursing.

[1] l.c. p. 141. [2] l.c. p. 47.

Aro tribes detest twins.

Among the Aro tribes, there was a curious concurrence noted by Partridge[1] of a belief in the sanctity of the vulture, and the customary belief in the detestability of twins, which suggests a possibility of a connection between the bird and the twins. It seems to be a proper subject for enquiry whether the vulture may be the second parent in the twin-product, and whether, on the other hand, it may perhaps be a thunder-bird. We have not means of deciding these points at present, and must content ourselves with setting down the evidence, which occurs in the description of a visit paid by Major Partridge to Ezialli, the richest of the Aro rulers. 'The chief has a clean skin brought for his guest to sit on, and compliments are exchanged through an interpreter. The visitor learns that the Aros regard the vulture as a sacred bird, and that it has hitherto been the custom, when a woman bears twins, to kill both the mother and her offspring.'

Now we have probably said enough about the twin-customs of the Benin Coast and the Lower Niger; let us move westward and see how things stand in the Yoruba country. For this our natural guide will be Ellis, in his book on the *Yoruba-speaking peoples of the West Coast of Africa.* Amongst the minor gods of the Yorubas, Ellis gives the sixteenth place to Ibeji, who is described as follows[2]:

Ellis on Yoruba tribes.

'*Ibeji.*

Twins sacred to monkey-god.

Ibeji, twins (*bi*, to beget, *eji*, two) is the tutelary deity of twins, and answers to the god Hoho of the Ewe-tribes. A small black monkey, generally found amongst mangrove trees, is sacred to Ibeji. Offerings of fruit are made to it, and its flesh may not be eaten by twins or the parents of twins. This monkey is called *Edon dudu,* or *Edun oriokun,* and *one of twin children* is generally named after it, Edon or Edun. When one of twins dies, the mother carries with the surviving child to keep it from pining for its lost comrade, and also to give the spirit of the deceased child

[1] l.c. p. 62. [2] p. 80.

something to enter into without disturbing the living child, a small wooden figure, seven or eight inches long, roughly fashioned in human shape, and of the sex of the dead child.... At Erapo, a village on the Lagoon between Lagos and Badagry, there is a celebrated temple to Ibeji, to which all twins, and the parents of twins, from a long distance round make pilgrimages. It is said to be usual in Ondo to destroy one of twins. This is contrary to the practice of the Yorubas, and, if true, the custom has probably been borrowed from the Benin tribes of the East.'

It is clear that the Yorubas have come to regard twins favourably: as to the destruction of twins at Ondo, there is no reason to suppose that twin-murder has been borrowed: it is much more likely that the Ondo people have a belief which is in process of modification, than that they have deliberately abandoned a humane view of twins for the opposite.

Twins worshipped?

We have now struck a new area of savage belief: we have the twins deified in a small way, and provided with a temple, and we seem to be on the road to their representation by means of images. As Ellis points out, the origin of this image-making is animistic, rather than religious. I am, myself, in possession of such an image, obtained from a doctor at Lagos. It has several nails driven into the crown of its head, and the natural explanation is that the medicine-man, or some one of that character, first conjured the spirit of the dead child into the image, and then fixed it there by means of nails. The chief from whom the doctor obtained it parted with it, because, the second twin being now dead, there was no further danger to be guarded against. The image had become useless. It may be remarked that it is extremely ugly, and apparently was originally androgyne. Whether such an image would develope naturally into a god under favourable circumstances, is difficult to say.

Images of dead twins.

Ellis does not say whether the Ibeji are represented regularly by images: nor is there any clue to the meaning of the cult-animal (in this case a black monkey) which turns up in the story. From the pilgrimages, we may, perhaps, infer as in a previous case, the existence of an annual festival.

Miss Kingsley has also given an interesting account of the substitution of an image for a dead twin child. This was among the Tshi-speaking tribes. She says:

Tshi-tribes make image of dead twin.

'I remember once among the Tschwi trying to amuse a sickly child with an image which was near it and which I thought was its doll. The child regarded me with its great melancholy eyes pityingly, as much as to say, "a pretty fool *you* are making of yourself," and so I was, for I found out that the image was not a doll at all, but an image of the child's dead twin, which was being kept near it as a habitation for the deceased twin's soul, so that it might not have to wander about, and, feeling lonely, call its companion after it.'

Returning for a moment to the Yoruba customs, it will be seen that there is no evidence as yet brought forward to connect the twins with the thunder-god. The latter is named Shango, and is quite the normal type; he could be placed in the same row with Thor and Zeus. It remains to be seen whether he has any bird ancestries, or whether he has the twins in any way under his protection.

A somewhat similar report as to the making of images of twins is reported in *Les Missions Catholiques*, for 1875. In this case the images are of twins born dead: and household sacrifices to these images are supposed to result in answers to prayers, and a knowledge of future events. A picture is given, hideous enough, of the two images arranged Janus-fashion. The main points of the report are given in a note[1].

Twins at Porto Novo.

The place for which this custom is reported is Porto Novo on the Slave Coast. Further information from the same centre will be found in *Les Missions Catholiques* for 1884. It is interesting to note that the small monkey previously referred to turns up here also, and that it is supposed there is spiritual confraternity between the twins and the monkeys.

[1] Vol. VII. 1875, p. 592. Igbedji (jumeaux). Les femmes qui mettent au monde des jumeaux morts font fabriquer une statue à double face et d'une seule pièce....Elles la placent dans un coin de leur maison, et lui offrent deux poules, des bananes, et de l'huile de palme, afin d'obtenir les faveurs dont elles ont besoin, et surtout la connaissance de l'avenir.

Les Missions Catholiques, XVI. (1884), p. 250. *Ibeji.* 'Quand une femme a deux enfants jumeaux, on ne les tue pas à Porto-novo, comme cela se pratique dans le Benin, mais les Noirs croient que ces enfants ont pour compagnons des génies semblables à ceux qui animent les singes d'une petite espèce, tres commune dans les forêts de la Guinée. Quand les enfants seront grands, ils ne pourront pas manger de la chair de singe, et, en attendant, la mère fait des offrandes aux singes de la forêt, leur porte des bananes, et autres friandises pour les adoucir.' If one of the children should be sick, the mother goes into the forest with the witch doctor, taking with her a basket full of provisions for the spirits. 'On la dépose au pied d'un arbre; le fêticheur évoque les esprits et quand ceux-ci manifestent leur présence on se retire pour les laisser manger en paix. Après quelque temps on vient voir si les génies ont trouvé l'offrande à leur goût. Lorsque tout a disparu, heureux présage pour la santé de l'enfant. L'esprit qui accepte le sacrifice est bien entendu un esprit en chair et en os qui, prévenu à temps, s'était caché près d'un endroit convenu.'

Twins related to monkeys.

Whether we call such performances religious or not, it will be agreed that they contain all the elements necessary for the evolution of a religion, spirits to be propitiated, priests, and sacrifices.

Among the Tshi-speaking peoples of the Gold Coast, Ellis notes an interesting case of twin-trees, in which a deity is supposed to reside, to which twins born in Cape Coast are brought to be named[1]. This god, formerly worshipped, was *Kottor-Krabah*, who resided at the Wells now known by that name. He was said to have migrated with the Fantis from beyond Coomassie. When the emigrants came to the sight of the present Kottor-Krabah wells, they were reduced to great straits for want of water. The god showed them where to dig at the foot of two large silk-cotton trees. 'The two silk-cotton trees were afterwards named *N'ihna-atta* (*Ihna*, silk-cotton trees, *attah*, twins), and were regarded as belonging to the god, who, it was believed, resided in

Ellis on Tshi-tribes.

[1] Ellis, *Tshi-speaking Peoples*, p. 42.

them. One tree was said to be male, the other female. Sheep were in former times sacrificed to Kottor-Krabah, and twins born in Cape Coast were carried to the trees to be named.'

There is certainly some link between twins and this mysterious and elusive god; but what the connection is must remain, for the present, obscure.

We have not found any traces, as yet, of the use of twins as rain-makers in W. Africa. This may be mere lack of information from the observers of the phenomena; or it may be that the connection between twins and the sky-god has not been made in these parts. This is a matter that will require closer investigation: we must not generalise too rapidly and say 'all twins are sons of Thunder,' but we must delimit, if possible, the area over which that identification is probable.

Twins in Togo-land.

When we move again to the westward, we come to the area which the Germans call by the name of Togo-land, for which we have a variety of information from the most careful explorers and observers. For instance, Klose, in his book entitled *Togo unter Deutscher Flagge*, draws attention to the treatment of twins, using in part a dissertation by Clerk, entitled *Meine Reisen in den Hinterländern von Togo*[1]. From Klose, then, we learn that amongst the Kratyi tribes, people believe that in the case of twin-births an evil spirit has had a hand in the game, for which reason they mercilessly kill the innocent children. Should the women be so unfortunate as to bear twins a second time, the people do not shrink from throwing the innocent children on to an ant-heap, since this is the only way in which they can prevent a similar recurrence. It is noteworthy that most of the savage races regard twin-births as of evil omen and that an evil spirit is responsible therefor[2].

From the same writer we learn the customs of the Bassari, a tribe living between 9° and 10° N. Lat. and between 0° and 1° E. Long.[3]: 'Twins are regarded as

[1] N. Clerk in *Mittheilungen d. Geogr. Gesell. Jena IX.*

[2] Klose, l.c. p. 350. (*Characteristik der Kratyileute und der Haussa.*)

[3] l.c. p. 509 sqq.

ill-omened by the Bassari. If the first-born children are twins, one child is preserved, the other is put in a large pot and buried alive. Should the twins be boy and girl, the boy is kept: should they be of the same sex, they follow the Spartan custom, of preserving the stronger. To express in some way the relationship of the twins to one another, they sacrifice a fowl and divide it into two parts. One half is given to the child that is to be buried, the other half is put into a pot and buried near by. This sacrifice placates at once the Fetish and reminds the spirit of the dead child of his near relation to the living child, so that he shall not wreak vengeance on him. Twin children, not first-born, are in any case buried alive. Later on the father of the twins goes to the Fetish doctor, to pray for his help against the recurrence of the event. Twins among the Bassari.

'Women who have borne twins must not take part in agricultural operations, for fear of damaging the crops. Only after the birth of another child are they permitted to work in the fields'[1].

As we shall see later on, twins and twin-mothers are in many places especially valued for their influence on agriculture; apparently because they can, by sympathetic magic, communicate their own fertility. It will be noticed above that there is, in certain cases, a slight margin of choice, with regard to the child whose life is preserved.

For this same district we have a further description by a German missionary named Franz Wolf. The account will be found in *Anthropos*, Bd VII. Heft 1 and 2, pp. 81–95[2]. From this article we get a good deal of valuable information: according to Wolf, twins and triplets are welcomed amongst the Fō. They are regarded as Oḥoḥo's children. Twins are common, triplets also occur. Of twins and triplets *the last born is first in rank*, and the explanation is given, *valeat quantum*, that persons of high rank send messengers before them. Fixed names are attached to them, e.g. Wolf on Fō tribes.

[1] Very nearly the same statements by Klose in *Globus*, LXXXI. (1902), p. 190 sqq.

[2] The title is: *Beitrag zur Ethnographie der Fō-neger in Togo.*

Twins: both boys: *Esé* and *Esí*,
both girls: *Huevi* and *Huesé*,
one boy and one girl: the boy *Esi* and the girl *Esihue*.

Triplets (a known case):
boy, *Ese*: girl, *Esi*: girl, *Esihue*.

Children of twins have also definite names assigned to them:

First-born:	boy, *Dosu*,
	girl, *Devi*.
Second:	boy, *Dosavi*,
	girl, *Dohnevi*.
Third:	boy, *Donyo*,
	girl, *Dosovi*.

The mother has to divide her food into equal portions, and eat similarly from each portion, evidently so that each child whom she nourishes shall be equally served. If she did not, the neglected child would be cross and die.

Oḥoḥo the patron of twins?

The Oḥoḥo-cult. Wolf cannot decide whether Oḥoḥo, to whose parentage the twins are referred, is the guardian of the twins, or whether he is God who has taken possession of them. They appear in some way to identify twins with Oḥoḥo, and call the father *Oḥoḥodyito* (Oḥoḥo-bearer), and the mother *Oḥoḥono* (Oḥoḥo-mother).

After the birth, a couple of plates of food are prepared for the Oḥoḥo, and a woman, herself the mother of twins, gives the invitation to the food which she has prepared, and of which she has placed small portions in the dishes, in the terms 'This food is yours, I give it to you.' The remainder of the food is eaten by the visitors. Here again we have a rudimentary sacrifice with suggestions of a twin-priesthood.

When a twin dies, there are curious ceremonies to be gone through, which may be of importance in the interpretation of the twin-cult.

Capture of spirit of a dead twin.

The parents buy a white hen, maize-beer, a new calabash, and a piece of white linen. They go out with a crowd of natives into the bush. They look about for a long-tailed monkey (Meerkatze), and when they see it, they say, 'See!

there is Ese,' meaning the dead child. (The monkey's name is *Esio*.) A twin-mother takes the calabash, pours some beer into it, and calls the monkey, saying 'Come, Ese, let us go home.' After three calls, she shuts the calabash with the stopper, and binds it up in the white linen. *Ese is now inside.* Then a woman kneels, and the twin-mother puts the calabash on her head. The woman has a string of cowries given her, which she holds in her teeth. She is now supposed to be possessed by the deity Oḥoḥo. They return home, the twin-mother marching in front. They throw cowries to the carrier woman, which are picked up for her. On reaching home, the contents of the calabash, which are now supposed to involve Oḥoḥo, are poured into the twin dishes. The birth sacrifice is repeated, and finally the dish that is supposed to belong to the dead child is covered up.

There really seems something like Totemism in the foregoing account of Oḥoḥo, the twins, and the long-tailed monkey. Wolf himself appears to have maintained the existence of individual totems amongst the Fō-tribe[1], in the case of twins. He suggests that the totems of twins are the two kinds of monkey, to which the people in Togo-land pay respect; the *esio* (Meerkatze), and the *okla* (Husarenaffe). Twins may never kill and eat the former; they may kill, but not eat the latter. It is said by the natives that twins, in sleep, turn into one or other of these monkeys, and go into the fields to eat maize. If one of the monkeys is killed, the corresponding twin dies.

The parents of twins set apart every year a little patch of maize for the twins to eat, when turned into monkeys. This patch is never reaped, but left undisturbed.

There are traces of hereditary totemism in some tribes (e.g. the Atak-pame), the totem-name being derived in the first instance from the twin-mother. I suppose that in such cases a person bears the twin name without being actually a twin.

Further information, in much greater detail, is given by

[1] See *Anthropos*, vol. VI. pp. 457, 458.

Spieth on Ewe-tribes.

a Togo-land missionary, named Spieth, in a book on the Ewe-speaking tribes[1]. Spieth describes at great length the manners and customs of the *Ho-tribe*, the *Akoviewe*, and the *Kpenoe*. About 600 pages are given to the Ho-district, and a close and careful study is made of the subject of twins, and the rites associated therewith. If we epitomise his reports, we find that the birth of twins is an exceeding joy. The path of the twin-mother is better than the path of a rich man; a special drum is beaten to express the joy proper to this case.

The taboo imposed in such cases is not long: the father and mother are obliged to fast and to be silent until other twin parents come on the scene. To these they pay ransom, to the amount of 20 *hoka*. The woman who presides over the ceremonies prepares and eats food, the midwife prepares palm-wine, with which she first washes her hands. A festival is decreed at the nearest market-town of the Ho-tribe: and on a certain day the relatives come together, under the leadership of the visiting twin-mother who has charge of the proceedings; the parents have now to buy back their house and chattels from the visitors. The old woman says a prayer to the effect that everybody may have twins. The parents now have their hair ceremonially cut. Beans are cooked in a couple of pots and taken into the market place, and girls are appointed to feed the company therefrom with spoons. The happy parents are led up and down the street to the music of drums. More palm-wine is drunk, and it is then on sale to the general public, at the price of 5 *hoka* for two calabashes. The mother of the ceremonies is then paid off and goes to her home.

No ceremonies are allowed for twins of opposite sexes.

The twins themselves are forbidden to eat the flesh of the Hussar-monkey. The reason assigned is that twins are called by the name of 'Children of the Hussar-monkey.' Neither must they eat rat. If any one shoots one of these monkeys, the twin-parents are allowed to cudgel him. Here, then, again we have the appearance of the monkey as

[1] Spieth, *Ewe-Stämme*, Berlin, 1906, pp. 202–206.

cult-animal, and this time he is definitely connected with the parentage of the children. The meaning of this is not yet clear, but we shall perhaps find that this particular monkey is associated with the care of the weather.

It will be observed that however joyfully twins are regarded, there are plenty of suggestions of ransom on the part of the parents, both for themselves and their property.

Twins among the Akoviewe.

With something of the same kind of ceremonies, Spieth describes (p. 616) the twin-births amongst the Akoviewe. The woman who is assisting the twin-mother leaves her on the arrival of the first child for fear of falling into a swoon or catching an incurable cough....Various vegetables and fruits are soaked in water, and the mother and children are soaked therein. The father is prohibited from eating offerings made to the Hussar monkey, or from eating the flesh of the same. For twin-boys there is a twenty-five day festival, for twin-girls one of twenty. Strangers are regaled, presents are made to the twins (which must in any case be of equal value), the drums are beaten, and so on.

Much the same revelry occurs among the tribe of the Kpenoe[1]. Palm-wine flows in abundance for those who bring cowries, as gift or exchange. The customs are under the supervision of those who are themselves twins, to wit drumming, dancing, and drinking. The twins are carried about on their parents' shoulders for every one to see. The festival is costly, and often results in the impoverishment of the parents.

Later on the writer[2] makes the remark that when it rains, the people address God and say 'The Hussar-monkey sees it and weeps,' which has its nearest parallel in 'Zeus rains' of the Greeks. It is possible, then, as was suggested above, that the monkey in question is a rain-maker.

Twins on the Coast.

Moving again westward, we come to the Gold Coast: we have already pointed out on the authority of a seventeenth century writer that in the district of Fetu, twins were brought up, except when they were of opposite sexes, in

[1] Spieth, l.c. p. 694. [2] l.c. p. 914.

which case one of them was killed. It is remarked by Finsch[1] that on the Gold Coast, twins are looked upon as lucky, while the contrary is the case with triplets. Among the Fantis, it also appears to be the custom to spare the lives of twins: in the report of Catholic Missions for 1893[2] it is stated for the neighbourhood of Elmina, that there is no lack of ceremonies more or less religious on the Gold Coast. They celebrate a festival called Abam at the birth of twins, and at the birth of the third or the seventh in a family. The Abam consists of purifications made with a special herb; a bracelet is given to the twin-child, which must be worn all his life long. The Abam is renewed before each harvest.

If we understand this rightly, twins are welcomed, and neither is killed, but there must be expiatory rites.

Twins in Liberia.

Further to the West, we come to Liberia: concerning the tribe of the Golahs in this country, we have some important information from a Roman Catholic Missionary, (J. H. Cessou) in Monrovia, as reported in *Anthropos* for Nov.—Dec. 1911 (pp. 1037–8). In this district, twins are not killed, but there are certain taboos which they must observe. Cessou says they must not eat (1) bananas, (2) a certain snake, (3) the bush-goat or black-deer. Sometimes the name of bush-goat is given to children, but it is not limited to twin-children. Cessou goes on to explain:

'Les personnes sujettes à ces prohibitions—à ces tabous si tel est bien ici le mot propre—sont les jumeaux, en Golah *asé'vi* ou *zina*, aussi comme en Vai. Jumeaux et fils de jumeaux ne peuvent manger le bush-goat.

'Le père d'un de nos *boys* est jumeau: il ne peut en manger; son fils également ne peut en manger. Quand il nous l'amena, "Ne lui donnez pas du bush-goat," à nous dit-il....

'Les jumeaux ont en effet le singulier privilège d'apprendre beaucoup de choses par rêve. Peut-être est-ce parce qu'ils voient les esprits des morts, dont la vie dans l'autre

[1] Otto Finsch in *Allgem. Zeitschrift f. Erdkunde*, Bd 17, 1864, p. 361.
[2] *Les Missions Catholiques*, xxv. 1893, p. 346.

monde est la réplique de la vie terrestre....Quoiqu'il en soit, les jumeaux ont le privilège d'apprendre des choses par le moyen des rêves....

'Et pourquoi donc les jumeaux ne peuvent-ils pas manger le bush-goat? Des jumeaux, il y a longtemps de celà, nous ont dit les vieux, ont vu, paraît-il, dans leurs rêves que les esprits des gens morts prenaient des corps de bush-goats. Ils ont vu des bush-goats, qui n'étaient point des animaux mais des hommes. Voyez-vous un bush-goat qui se sauve d'une certaine façon, ce n'est pas un animal, c'est un esprit. Les jumeaux sachant dont, pour l'avoir vu en rêve, que certains bush-goats sont des hommes, *they know them to be men*, ne peuvent en manger: ce serait mal, et d'ailleurs s'ils en mangeaient, ils perdraient leurs privilèges. *They cannot get good head again, and they no fit see again the things they fit see otherwise.*'

It was not, however, necessarily a twin that had been changed into a bush-goat.

Protection of living twin from dead twin.

On the death of one of a pair of twins, *the survivor has to be medicined by another twin of the same family.* After being washed by the medicining twin, the surviving twin is returned to his parents, and the officiant twin receives a reward in the shape of palm-oil, white cloth, and bleached rice: because *white is the proper colour for twins*, 'the white things be twin things.'

White the colour of twins!

The mantic gifts of twins are strongly emphasized in the foregoing: one is surprised, however, to find that the twin-colour amongst the Golahs is white, and not red. Does that mean that the Golahs thought of lightning as white?

Twins in the Sherbro hinterland. Aldridge on Sabo superstition.

A good deal further to the West we come to Sierra Leone; here we have a very instructive monograph on the manners and customs of the Sherbro hinterland[1]. As there seems to be great variation in the details of the twin-cult for Sierra Leone from what we find on the Guinea Coast, we will examine carefully what this writer (Mr T. J. Aldridge) has to say on the subject[2]. He tells us that 'Another

[1] T. J. Aldridge, *The Sherbro and its Hinterland*, London, 1901.

[2] l.c. pp. 149–151.

kind of fetish for the obtaining of money from the superstitious is the twin-houses, or *Sabo, the working of which is carried out by twins,* who may be any two persons of either or both sexes, who are actual twins, or are one of twin children of different families. *The elder twin is called Sau and the younger Jina,* irrespective of sex. It is always necessary, to render the fetish medicine efficacious, that it should be deposited beneath specially erected twin temples, ...Either the Sau or the Jina has the Fera Wuri, or twin stick, that is, has the power to set up these twin-houses and administer the medicine. *Although both sexes can apply to the Sabo, it is more generally used by women in regard to their specific complaints, more especially in cases of pregnancy or the absence of it.*...Assuming that the patient is a woman, said to be under the twin influence, it is necessary that she should be washed in the medicine, and should set up the twin-houses, which, of course, means an outlay.

Names of twins.

Magic twin-houses.

'A meeting follows with the Sau or Jina, and the fees being paid a dance is arranged, to take place at the appearance of the next new moon, to which any of the town-folk can go. The dance is kept up all night, and at daylight the Sabo women, attended by some from the dance, proceed to the bush to collect all the material for setting up the little twin temples, and for preparing the ablutionary medicine....'

The account goes on to describe the washing of the woman with the twin medicine. Some grains of rice are scattered on the ground, a twin holds a live fowl over the woman, and says 'If it is true that this woman has been affected by the twin spirit, the fowl must show it by eating up the rice,' which, of course, the fowl promptly does. These twin houses are frequently met with throughout the Mendi and Sherbro countries.

It is clear from this account that twins are in high esteem; they have developed a twin-priesthood, an important fact to remember, for we shall find such twin-priesthoods of the female sex in ancient Egypt, and perhaps elsewhere. The same tendency towards a twin-priesthood

Germs of a twin-priesthood.

was noticed among the Ewe-speaking tribes described above, where the purification of the twin-mother comes by the hands of other twin parents. Perhaps we shall be right in saying that *where the danger of twins has to be averted there is a tendency to place the averting power in the hands of those who are themselves twins.* This will lead naturally to a twin-priesthood.

Mr Aldridge explains that he had often seen the little twin houses without understanding their meaning: but that, shortly before writing his book, he had found out from the head man of a certain village that 'two particular houses were put up by a woman belonging to the town, who had twins both very sick. She had consulted the medicine man, and he had advised her to apply to the Sabo medicine.'

Twins in the Cameroons.

Now let us return to the Guinea Coast, and move eastward from Benin, which will take us again into German territory in the Cameroons. In this district from 3° N. Lat. and 5° S. Lat., live the Fang tribes: let us see what the Fang tribes think on the subject. In *Anthropos*, I. 745 sqq., M. Louis Martron tells us as follows: 'Quand deux jumeaux viennent au monde, l'un d'eux, s'il n'y a personne pour le recueillir, est destiné à la mort. Celui qui survit n'a pas le droit de regarder l'arc-en-ciel. Si par inadvertance ses yeux ont rencontré le météore, il devra se raser les sourcils, en colorer la place, d'un côté, avec du *charbon noir*, de l'autre avec la poussière du *bois rouge*. Défense ainsi, de manger tout animal dont le pelage est tacheté ou zébré: panthère, chat-tigre, antilope-cheval, etc.: et de tout poisson couvert d'écailles.'

Among the Fangs, twins may not look at the rainbow.

Here again we strike new ground. The destruction of twins is partial, as in so many places, but the twin that lives must never look upon the rainbow. I do not at present see the meaning of this: we shall meet the same superstition again in E. Africa.

Du Chaillu on Ashango land.

We come next to the mouth of the Congo River, and to the territory known as the French Congo. This district is partly covered by a journey of Du Chaillu, described as

a *Journey to Ashango Land.* We shall get some curious details[1] of the traveller's experiences amongst the Aponos and Ishogos. He describes a war-dance accompanied by hideous noises, which continued all night long. 'The singing and dancing during this uproarious night were partly connected with a curious custom of this people, namely, the celebration of the *mpaza,* or the release from the long deprivation of liberty which a woman suffers who has had the misfortune to bring forth twins. The custom altogether is a very strange one, but it is by no means peculiar to the Ishogos, although this is the first time I witnessed the doings. The negroes of this part of Africa have a strange notion or superstition that when twins (*mpaza*) are born, one of them must die early; so, in order, apparently, to avoid such a calamity, the mother is confined to her hut, or rather, restricted in her intercourse with her neighbours, until both the children have grown up, when the danger is supposed to have passed.' Evidently Du Chaillu misunderstood his informants, who were substituting severe taboo and isolation of the mother and twins in place of the death of one of the twins. It was not that one would die, but that one would have to be killed. The natives were progressive in their treatment of the subject: as Du Chaillu himself remarks, 'The tribes here are far milder than those near Lagos, or in East Africa, where, as Burton mentions, twins are always killed immediately on their being born.'

Nature of twin-isolation.

As to the nature of the isolations, which corresponds to what, in other communities, would be exile, we have some interesting details. The woman is allowed to go into the forest, but may not speak to any one outside her own family. No one but the father and mother are allowed to enter the hut: a stranger who did so would be seized and sold into slavery. The twins must not mix with other children, and all the household utensils are tabooed: (on the Niger they would probably have been destroyed). Du Chaillu remarks that 'some of the notions have a resemblance to the nonsense believed in by old nurses in more civilised countries, such

[1] pp. 272–274.

as, for instance, that when the mother takes one of the twins in her arms, something dreadful will happen if the father does not take the other, and so forth.' 'The house where the twins were born is always marked in some way to distinguish it from the others, in order to prevent mistakes. Here in Yengue, it had two long poles on each side of the door, at the top of which was a piece of cloth, and at the foot of the door were a number of pegs stuck in the ground and *painted white.* The twins were now six years old, and the poor woman was released from her six years imprisonment on the day of my arrival. During the day two women were stationed at the door of the house *with their faces and legs painted white,*—one was the doctor, the other was the mother. The festivities commenced by their marching down the streets, one beating a drum, with a slow measured beat, and the other singing. The dancing, singing, and drinking of all the villagers then set in for the night. After the ceremony, the twins were allowed to go about like other children. In consequence of all this trouble and restriction of liberty, *the bringing forth of twins is considered,* and no wonder, by the women, *as a great calamity. Nothing irritates or annoys an expectant mother in these countries so much as to point to her and tell her she is sure to have twins.*' He might have made the statement more general; almost any West African woman (except in cases where twins are regarded as a blessing) would recognise the curse of the pointed two fingers as the most terrible of objurgations.

White as taboo-colour.

Now let us enquire how matters are looked at by the tribes higher up the Congo River. The Congo gives us a chance of getting into the heart of Africa, whereas, up to the present, we have been visiting the sea-board, with slight excursions into the hinterland. It will be difficult to determine the beliefs of the Congo natives, for Belgian barbarity and rubber-hunting have decimated the populations, and, to an astonishing degree, blotted and torn the records that we are trying to read.

Twins on the Congo.

The best information that I have been able to secure is contained in a letter from my friend Kenred Smith of the

Kenred Smith.

Baptist Mission at Upoto, on the Upper Congo. He writes me to the following effect with regard to the Ngombe Manners and Customs.

Twins (*Mapasa*).

Temporary fine paid by the mother's relatives to the father.

When twins are born the relatives of the mother gather and present to the father of the children, spears and knives in honour of the birth. These spears and knives are never really reckoned as belonging to the father of the twins, and he does not pay them away for the purchase of another wife, nor pay his debts with them, but preserves them intact. After a period extending to four or five months, a feast is prepared and the spears and knives handed back to the relatives of his wife.

Twins named in dream to one of the villagers.

Twins are supposed to name themselves, by appearing to some of the villagers in a dream, and stating what their names are to be. The person having the dream tells the parents, and the names given in the dream are the names by which the children will be called. If the parents attempt to attach other names to the children they will die.

No other name safe.

Pride over twins.

The mother of the children after regaining her strength (and the cessation of the haemorrhage), gives *mondundu*, that is, she takes her twins on show to her relatives and friends, and receives presents of money and food.

Mother must behave bilaterally in eating or in suckling.

When the mother eats, she eats from two pots, the food, maize, manioc pudding, fish, etc. being cooked in two different vessels. When eating, the mother is careful to take first with her right hand, from the pot on her right, and then with her left hand from the pot on her left. If she eats only from the right hand vessel or only from the left, or has only one pot, one of the twins will die.

Spirits kept off by drums.

While the mother eats, some of her relatives or some of the villagers beat the *ndundu* or *gbugbu* drums. This custom of drum beating is continued until the mother comes out from the *abwai*, that is, until she comes out from being confined in her hut. This confinement lasts about two months and the mother is only allowed to go abroad at night, or if in the day, only at the back of the hut where

Mother secluded and tabooed.

the general public have no access. This imprisonment takes place after the *mondundu* spoken of above. When she has finished her imprisonment and enters again into the life of the village, her friends give presents.

When nursing her little ones the mother of the twins reserves one side for the one and the other for the other twin. Each child has its own side of the mother.

After the birth of the twins, on one of the leading paths near the village *maduka* are erected. The *maduka* are placed on two branches of trees planted on either side of the path. Each branch has three or four prongs, and the *maduka* rest on these prongs. The *maduka* are simply old and useless native pots no longer fit for cooking the manioc bread pudding. Into these old pots are placed the *makaka-benji* (the placenta), and it is supposed that unless the *maduka* are erected the twins will die. Care taken to preserve the after-birth.

Passers-by pluck leaves and throw them at the foot of each stick on either side of the path, believing that thus they will be lucky on their journey, whether it be a hunting journey into the forest, or a journey to collect a debt, or a journey made for the sake of visiting friends. Little heaps of accumulated leaves gradually surround the two sticks on which the *maduka* rest. The placenta gives good luck.

Twins are not called in to perform special functions, as marriage, funerals, etc., but as twins are thought to be *embete e Akongo* (*a wonder of God*) and are sometimes spoken of as *bana ba milimo* (*children of the spirits*) when they are grown up, some superstitious reverence attaches to them. Thus if men are going hunting and one of the number curses a twin, and the twin responds by saying that the hunt will be in vain, it will be abandoned, the others believing that the twin has some occult power which will be exercised against them, so that no animals will be taken. The same applies to fishing. If a twin should *jungoa* (bless) a fishing or hunting party, it is sure to be successful. Twins are not called in as rain-makers amongst the Ngombes. Here rain is usually abundant, so the rain-maker is not needed. When there is a period of continuous rain, a Twins have spirit ancestry (? one or both). Twins control the luck in hunting or fishing. Twins have power over rain.

twin is called upon to make it cease. Usually, the last born twin is called, and he, taking some rain-saturated earth from outside the hut, puts it on the fire, and calls on the rain to cease and the earth to dry up. '*If one twin should die, his fellow-twin is supposed to have killed it.*'

Twin kills twin.

It will be recognised at once that this is a very important and illuminating communication. Here we appear to be amongst the Bantu and not in Negro circles: the language, *bana ba milimo*, is clearly Bantu. Twins are regarded as a blessing, but the period of isolation and the drum-beating show that there is danger underneath the felicity. Here, for the first time, we have a reference to the sanctity of the placenta; we shall see plenty of this in East Africa. The belief that one twin kills the other, which we know of old in the story of Romulus and Remus, or in that of Esau and Jacob, is here definitely stated. From the fact that the younger twin controls the weather, it is legitimate to infer that it is the younger twin that is the spirit-child or sky-child. The references to the twins as patrons of hunting and fishing are of the first importance, and will receive striking confirmation.

Dr Girling on twins among the Batito.

From the same mission we have a very interesting statement from the pen of Dr E. C. Girling, with regard to the treatment of twins among the Batito, to the west of Lake Leopold II. Dr Girling publishes in the *Herald*, the organ of the Baptist Missionary Society, for March 1912, a photograph showing a pair of twins *whose faces have been painted white*, to avert evil from them. His description is as follows:

Twins painted white.

'The accompanying photograph gives you an idea of one of the sights we saw inland. It represents twins born in a Batito village away near Lake Leopold. They are nearly six months old, and have been subjected to this white-washing process every morning: also they and their mother have never been allowed to pass the rough curtain fence erected round the door of their hut for all these months. Mother and babies all looked as if some fresh air and exercise would do them good.

'The birth of twins is regarded as a misfortune, and these rites are for the purpose of averting further evil. The father and mother were also *smeared with chalk* and their bodies decorated with leaves.' Deprecatory rites.

Here we have some new features, the whitewashing of the children and the parents, and the decoration of the latter with leaves. The reason for these practices is obscure: and there does not seem to be any suggestion of the dual paternity or of the thunder-god.

It is interesting, too, to find again the opposite views with regard to twins so nearly adjacent as in these two cases from the same mission.

This may be the best place to refer to the twin-custom as it prevails in the district of central Africa, known as Msidi's country, or Katanga, or Garenganze. The district may be described as lying in Lat. 10° S., and in Long. 25°—26° E.: it was visited by Mr Arnot, who travelling N.W. from Natal, crossed the continent to Benguela, and from thence journeyed E.N.E. to Katanga. In his book entitled *Garenganze*, he gives us a statement to the following effect: Twins in Msidi's country.

'As a rule, these simple people are fond of their children. Cases of infanticide are very rare, and then only because of some deformity. *Twins, strange to say, are not only allowed to live, but the people delight in them.*' However much the people may delight in twins, there is decided evidence of purificatory rites. Mr Arnot goes on to describe a treatment both of the king and his people by a witch doctoress, who sprinkled them with an ill-smelling medicine, and spouted beer in their faces from her own sweet mouth, a proceeding which the whole company took up with great zest[1]. I do not understand the meaning of the beer-spouting, unless it should be for a rain-charm. As we shall see, among the Baronga in S.E. Africa the arrival of twins is at once a signal for rain-charming on the part of the women. Beer, however, does not exactly drop 'like the gentle rain from Twins are welcomed. Beer-spouting as a deprecatory rite?

[1] For this ceremony, see *Cult of the Heavenly Twins*, p. 16, from Arnot, *Garenganze*, p. 241.

heaven' (we need not continue the quotation). Perhaps it is sufficient to say that even in Msidi's country there are traces of purificatory rites in the midst of the happiness caused by twin-births. The situation might then be summed up in the language of Ankermann[1]: 'Dans quelques tribes on regard les jumeaux comme un signe de malheur: c'est pourquoi on les tue. Même chez les peuplades qui se réjouissent à la naissance des jumeaux, les parents sont obligés d'accomplir certaines cérémonies dont le but paraît être de conjurer le mauvais sort (par exemple dans l'Ouganda).'

Ankermann.

As we have already seen, this judgement might be applied over a very wide area in Africa, and we shall probably say the same elsewhere.

Dr Nassau says nearly the same thing[2]: 'In other parts, as in the Gabun country, where twins are welcomed, it is nevertheless considered necessary to have special ceremonies performed for the safety of their lives, or, if they die, to prevent evil.'

Nassau on Gabun country.

It will be observed that the cult, as it is developed from its early form of irrational terror, is tending towards definite practices and fixed explanations; priesthood is beginning to appear, and the dead twins are beginning to be honoured. Where the twins are allowed to live, Twin-towns are formed. We have not, however, reached the point where the thunder is very much in evidence, and we have not yet found the colour assigned to the twins which we have shown to prevail in the traditions of the Aryan peoples and elsewhere. This is somewhat surprising, for while Shango, the thunder-god of the Yorubas, as is seen by the negro cults in Brazil, is as red as he can be painted, we have not found that this colour is assigned to twins in W. African tribes. On the other hand, we have two or three times found reference to white as being the colour of twins, and on the Congo have found them whitewashing twins every day. The meaning of this is not quite clear. Perhaps we may infer that some tribes regard lightning as red and others as white: but in

[1] *L'Ethnographie actuelle de l'Afrique Méridionale*, p. 935.
[2] *Fetichism in W. Africa*, p. 206.

that case the proof is still incomplete of the connection of twins with the thunder and the lightning. The Brazilian negroes tell us to connect Shango with the twin-cult, for they have mounted Cosmas and Damian with Shango in their oratories; but we are still deficient in the evidence which is to connect African twins generally or finally with sky, thunder, or lightning. In some tribes there are traces of the twins as rain-makers, through a particular monkey with whom they are identified. We have nothing, as yet, to entitle us to attach the term Boanerges to the West African twins.

Thunder-axes, and lightning-rods.

Perhaps we may get some light upon the question of colour from the following considerations. Among the Ewe-speaking peoples of the Slave Coast, Ellis notes the worship of a god Bo, who is the protector of persons engaged in war, and of a god So (Khebioso) who is the lightning. The priests of Bo carry about, on ceremonial occasions, a peculiar axe, usually made of brass; also they carry fasces, or bundles of sticks, called Bo-So, from four to six feet long, painted red and white in alternate stripes, or spotted with the same colours[1].

Here we have the exact parallel to the fasces carried by the Roman lictors, except that at Rome the axe is in the bundle of rods: notice that the Roman fasces are bound up with *red* leather. Probably the axe in each case is a thunder-axe, and the rods are the lightning shafts. If this be so, the colours red and white are both in use amongst these tribes to represent the thunder and lightning. The explanation is still tentative, but we shall see presently, when we come to consider the practices of the Wurundi in German East Africa, that the use of red and white in the ceremonial dance at the birth of twins, is accompanied by a belief that the spirit father of the twins is really the Thunder.

The whole subject of the use of colours by savages requires closer attention: we have shown the importance of red in ceremonies connected with the thunder: white is

[1] Ellis, l.c. p. 68.

a very common decoration all over the world, and it must not be hastily assumed that it has necessarily an interpretation that would link it with the lightning. We will, however, add a few considerations that may help to elucidate the matter.

Meaning of red and white paint.

It is certain that primitive men attach great importance to the paint they wear, and, as far as white is concerned, it is commonly held that this is put on to avert spirits. For instance, there is an important paper by Campbell in the *Indian Antiquary* for June, 1895, in which it is maintained that the colours dreaded by spirits are red, yellow, and black, and perhaps white. No attempt is made to explain what spirits are connected with what colours; are there not 'black spirits and white, red spirits and gray'? Moreover, when it is said that a spirit is averted by a colour, does not this often mean that the colour is the spirit's colour, and that the person painted is under the protection of the spirit? For instance, we know that red is in many places the thunder-colour, and that a thunder-bird, who is to keep off the thunder from a building or temple, should be (or was originally) a bird with red feathers. So we certainly need more investigation into the actual meaning of colours when employed by savages. I have suggested that the bundle of rods accompanied by an axe, which the savage in W. Africa paints red and white, is the equivalent for the Roman fasces bound with red leather, and stands symbolically for thunder and lightning. This does not mean that white paint necessarily means the lightning, though I think this is the most natural explanation in the case of the whitewashed twins on the Congo. On the general subject of pipeclay as disguise or decoration, we may consult what Miss Harrison has said about the Titans, who stole away the infant Dionysos, and who were painted with white clay (τῖτᾶνος). 'The Titanes, the white-clay men, were later, regardless of quantity, mythologised into Tītānes[1].' The explanation of the name is ingenious.

There is still something to explain in the whitewashing

[1] *Themis*, p. 17.

of the Titans. Perhaps Miss Harrison can complete her ingenious argument. Why were they painted white? 'Tell me that, and unyoke!'

Origin of barber's pole.

Here is another curious custom to which my attention has been drawn by my colleague, Mr R. A. Aytoun. The ordinary decoration of a barber's shop is a striped pole, in colours red and white. The explanation usually given of this is that it is a sign that the barber is also a surgeon who does blood-letting: the blood and the bandages being denoted by the striping of the pole. No doubt there is something to be said for the explanation, as it is well known that the arts of the barber and surgeon overlap: even at the present day, in the East, the barber-surgeon is one person and not two: but the explanation of the pole by blood and bandages has an unnatural look about it. Perhaps if we examine more closely into the history of surgery we may see the matter more clearly. Who are the patron saints of surgery? The answer of the mediaeval world will be at once, Cosmas and Damian, the saints who healed without taking fee, the Christian heirs of Aesculapius and of the Heavenly Twins. The barber's pole is, then, the sign of Cosmas and Damian: but Cosmas and Damian are the Heavenly Twins: then the red and white stripes are the sign of the Sons of Thunder. The induction is too rapid to be altogether satisfactory.

Supplementary Information from Dr Girling with regard to Twins among the Batito.

Upper Congo.

Enquiry from Dr Girling elicited, in a letter from Bolobo on the Upper Congo, dated May 27th, 1912, the following additional information.

Seclusion of mother and twins.

First of all Dr Girling confirms the period of seclusion of twins amongst the Batito to be one year. 'I learnt from the teacher that the twins and mother I saw at Isanga in July last year are still in seclusion, but are very soon to be allowed their freedom: this would make the period of seclusion about one year, or until the children could walk. I have made enquiries in this neighbourhood from boys belonging

to the Bobangi, Batende, Basingele, Batehe and Batito tribes, and get a period of seclusion varying from eight days to eighteen days, but I have nowhere found anyone who speaks of so long a period as one year; but as there were two sets of twins at Isanga (Batito tribe), and both sets were secluded for one year, I should say that the custom of the Batito is probably as stated by our teacher.'

Next he doubts the existence of a former custom of killing twins, on the ground that twins are lucky: a natural hesitation to any one approaching the subject for the first time.

...'I can find no traces of any former custom which included the killing of twins; twins are considered a sign of good fortune not in the least to be regretted, and so the killing of them would seem to be inconsistent.'

Then he records the belief that one twin kills the other, to which we have drawn attention elsewhere in W. Africa, in ancient Rome, etc.

Twin kills twin.

'It is sometimes thought that when a twin dies early in life, the survivor has had some part in his death; the natives, when I asked the question, answered, "Yes! we think that the other twin refused his brother because he wished to be alone."'

He also got a suspicion of a belief that the spirit of the dead twin would try to call the other into the spirit world.

Dr Girling failed to find any connection of twins with the sky, a point on which I especially desired additional information. He reports some further facts regarding the cult.

No apparent connection with the sky. The twin priestess?

'I can find no connection between twins and rain or the sky from the natives I questioned. I obtained a few additional somewhat insignificant facts. When twins are born the woman who last bore twins comes to the mother, and they both dance together with the father and friends who wish to join for a day or so.' This is really an important point, as it is paralleled in West Africa, where we find the beginnings of a twin priesthood in the female sex, occupied in averting the dangers presented by the situation. He goes on to describe what looks like a ransom paid for the twins amongst the Bobangi.

'A curious custom, which I can only find in the Bobangi tribe, is that all the friends of the father enter his house and take anything they may find (unless the father has been there first and hidden his belongings); they take a hoe, fishing-line, baskets, pots, anything, these they hold as a pledge to be redeemed by the father, he usually pays the same price for redemption of all the articles, irrespective of their value. The price per article is variously given as 2 rods (1*d.*) to 10 or 15 rods, or even more, according to the wealth and standing of the man; he has to pay as high a price as he can to *avert disaster from the twins.*' Ransom among the Bobangi.

The last sentence is suggestive,—it will be bad for the twins if they are not ransomed.

Dr Girling goes on to explain the important place which the placenta occupies in the cult: we shall see many varieties in the disposal of the placentae, especially in Uganda and East Africa.

'The disposal of the placentae is interesting in the Bobangi district: they are placed one each side of the path, or at cross roads, and a three-forked stick stuck up over each placenta, and in the forks of each a pot painted in three colours, white, yellow, and red, is placed.' Disposal of the placenta.

Here we have the extension of the red and white colours of the lightning-sticks which we recorded above. Is it possible that the triple forks which are here recorded as being set up are, like the trident of antiquity, representations of the lightning, and were the twins primitively buried in the pots? Dr Girling continues:

...'If a twin dies young, he is buried with the placenta under the stick and pot.

'In some tribes the placentae are buried in the forest, and a shed is erected....

'Pots are also erected at the corner of this shed and the twins are buried there, if they die young.

'If the twins live to reach adolescence, they are buried in the usual burying-ground, with, however, greater ceremony and more noise than even at the ordinary funerals.

'Another curious custom in connection with the placenta

Twin-parents leaf-clad?

I have from my friend at Isanga, and it is unconfirmed, but I am inclined to credit it. You will remember that husband and wife in my article were described as being decked with leaves; these leaves as they wither and the placentae are kept together in the hut, and are buried in the bush when the lady is released from confinement....

'The father of the twins (amongst the Bobangi) must always eat only food cooked in his wife's pot, he must not eat food cooked in any other pot; if he goes on a journey the pot goes with him.

'One old lady persisted in stating that twins brought riches to the father, because everybody brought presents of fish, etc., at odd times to the twins.

'A mother never allows a twin to sit on the bare ground.'

The foregoing observations will be seen, upon reflection, to have a distinct value; for the customs are parallel to those which we have recorded elsewhere, and should admit of similar explanations.

Further notes on Congo twins.

The foregoing accounts of the forms which the twin-cult takes in the Congo region are full of suggestion to the student of the subject: and I am the more interested in the communication which my friends have made, because on the first enquiry it seemed as if the twin-cult did not exist on the Congo. Gradually the peculiar features of the Congolese cult became registered and interpreted, and the transition could be traced from the savagery common on the West Coast of Africa to the timid appreciation which prevails on the other side of the continent. As it is important to collect as much testimony as possible, I am going to transcribe some further details for the Congo, given to me recently by my friend Mr Howell of the Baptist Mission. We shall find many features of the West African cult to prevail, such as the making of an image of a dead twin to be placed near the surviving twin, the importance assigned to a former twin-mother in the purification of a house where twins are born, and so on. Let us see, then, what Mr Howell says on the subject: his first observations relate to a tribe near Stanley Pool.

'Bawumba tribe, Near Stanley Pool. Congo. The Bawumba.

'As soon as twins are born, a man (anyone will do) mounts the roof of the house, he adorns himself with a special kind of long grass, used for medicinal purposes, it is placed over his shoulder and under the opposite arm, either shoulder will do, he then dances all day.

'A woman who has given birth to twins is then called, she takes them in her arms and dances outside the hut, this is done before anything whatever is done to the children. The twin-priestess.

'She places a wide white mark across the forehead of each child, after the ceremonies the children are treated just as other children. Ceremonial white-wash.

'In case of the death of one, a wooden image is made, so that the remaining child shall have company, it sees the image and thinks it is its companion.' Image of dead twin.

No explanation is yet forthcoming of the dancing, or of the grass-decorated man.

The next observations relate to a tribe about 500 miles higher up the river.

'Bangala tribe, 500 miles above Stanley Pool. Congo river. The Bangala.

'When the twins are eight days old, the mother takes them in her arms, and dances in front of her house before the folk of the town, she and the folk around sing.

'The decoration of leaves in the form of a garland is the same as when one child only is born, one kind of fibre is always used in making up all garlands. At the time they are named, first Nkumu, second one Mpeya. These names are held all through life. Names of twins.

'The one born first is always carried on the right arm, the second one on the left. Whenever the mother is saluted, she must always give two salutations in return. If a present be given there must be two alike, if not, there is grief to one. Equality of treatment.

'They are expected to cry together and rejoice together.

'If one dies, no ceremony is performed.'

Mr Howell next refers to the Ngombe tribe (described

above by Mr Kenred Smith), which is 100 miles further up stream.

The Ngombe.

'Ngombe tribe, big, widespread, runs across Congo, direction S.W. and N.E., 600 miles above Stanley Pool. Congo.

Twin-priestess.

'A woman is called in to assist at birth, who has herself given birth to twins.

Names of twins.

'She first gives them their names, the first one is called Mondunga, second one Ndumba. The children are kept from sight in the house one month.

'The attendant ties rings of vine or fibre round ankles, wrists, neck and waist, over both shoulders, round under the arms, also the mother and father wear exactly the same kind of thing.

'After a month or so, a dance is arranged, and presents are given, and all decorations discarded.

'The day of birth a string is tied across the path, and anyone passing must pay toll; the father fixes the sum.

'If one is a weakling it is killed. If any present is given it must be given to both. Two responses given to any salutation, one for each child. The house is fenced in. After the final dance all the decorations, fence, etc., etc., are burned.

Fees to twin-priestess.

'The assistant is paid 2000 brass rods, which equal about £4, and then the mother is eligible to render assistance to other women who give birth to twins, collect fees, etc.

'Should there be no woman about who has given birth to twins, and thus be eligible to render assistance, no one else can.

Twins quarrel.

'Common report says twins do not agree.'

It should be noted that we have here the elementary priesthood already alluded to, where twin-mothers or twin-children assist in the purificatory rites at a twin-birth. Traces of the custom of killing one child of a pair can be detected in Mr Howell's remark 'if one is a weakling it is killed.'

Lower Congo.

The fourth series of observations belongs to the Lower Congo.

'When twins are born, one is often neglected and starved to death. Women do not like twins because of the extra trouble involved in looking after them: when a twin is thus starved or dies a natural death, a piece of wood carved into an image to represent the child is put with the live twin so that it may not be lonely; in case of epidemic of small-pox, and if the child is vaccinated, the request is made by the mother for the vaccine to be put on the image, and if refused, the mother will take some from the child to rub on the image, so that the spirit of the dead child shall not get jealous[1].

Image of dead twin:

image vaccinated.

'If the second child dies, the image is buried with it. When a twin dies, it is placed on leaves, a white cloth put over it, and it is buried at cross roads, like a suicide, or as a man struck by lightning[2].'

Twins buried at cross-roads.

It will be seen that the description is susceptible again of another explanation than that which lies on the surface. To starve a child to death is, after all, only a lesser degree of murder; we may conjecture that the custom of killing one twin does not lie very far under the surface of the existing civilisation, as reported by Mr Howell.

Notice should also be taken of the custom of burying a twin in the same way as a person struck by lightning is buried: this admits of an easy explanation, if we assume that the dead child belongs in some way to the lightning. At all events, the parallelism in the treatment should be carefully noted.

We have now added considerably to the knowledge of the Twin-cult in the Congo region; the general impression is that we are receding from the common savagery of W. Africa, into what may be called a more temperate region[3].

[1] Information supplied by Dr Catharine Mabie, a missionary on the Congo.

[2] The remarkable coincidence with the English custom of burying a suicide at the cross roads should be noted, as well as the regard for, or fear of, a fulminate person.

[3] For the treatment of twins in Bihé (Angola) see notes at end of volume.

CHAPTER VI

THE TWIN-CULT IN SOUTH AFRICA

The Hereros.

As we pass down the West Coast of Africa, and leave the Equatorial regions, we come to the German Territory, which used to be known as Damaraland and Great Namaqua land. The principal tribes in this region are the Hereros. I have given in *Cult of the Heavenly Twins*[1] a brief statement of the opinions and practices of the Hereros, noting (1) that a twin-birth is one of the happiest of events; (2) that the parents of twins were allowed to levy a tax on their neighbours, as if the danger from the twins attached itself to the tribe rather than the family; (3) that after purification by the witch-doctor, the whole tribe presents its offerings to the parents.

The case of the Hereros is an interesting one, because it combines the feature of public satisfaction over the birth of twins with an unusually careful ritual for the deprecation of the evils which lurk in the phenomenon.

A very careful account is given by the Missionary J. Irle, in his book on the Herero[2]. First of all, he shows that when a twin-birth is announced, the father, accompanied by two men, leaves the kraal and goes outside to a rapidly constructed hut. He is promptly followed by the mother, with her twin children, and a pair of women attendants. These eight people now form a Guild of Twins and will be so designated for a whole year. The whole tribe, with their herds, are now summoned; and the isolated people are now recalled to the kraal, where they are met with a volley of missiles and with howling on the part of the women. As

Isolation of twins and parents.

Fictitious expulsion.

[1] p. 31.

[2] *Die Herero* (Gutersloh, 1906), pp. 96–99.

the things thrown do not hit, it is clear that we are dealing with an original expulsion which is now pretended and done in mimicry. The company now gather round the altar of sacrifice inside the camp; every man brings a present to the father, and every woman a present (a round piece of ostrich egg) to the mother. Certain men and women are ceremoniously dedicated for the occasion. The women build a hut for the twins, the men prepare an ox for sacrifice.

Tribal ransom.

After this, the family make a tour of the village, and collect more gratuities from their neighbours; they carry on the same process in neighbouring kraals. The father and mother obtain special names: he is called *Omupandje* and she *Onjambari* (i.e. the one who suckles two). Up to the end of the first year the parents have been dressed in their oldest and worst clothes; now the taboo is raised, and they change their raiment.

Irle on Hereros.

Irle points out that the ritual for twins among the Herero is much milder than among some Bantu tribes, where one or both of the twins are killed[1]; but he rightly doubts, in view of the ceremonies performed, whether we have a right to say that the Herero regard twins as a blessing. He suggests that they are spared on account of their value as a reinforcement to the tribe; but that, in reality, they are forbidden; and are more regarded in the light of fear than of happiness. The value of these observations is clear. Even the relative humanity of the Herero is seen to turn, in the first instance, on utility rather than on sentiment. The original dread of the abnormal twins looks at us from the ceremonies required for their admission to tribal life.

Original fear of twins.

We come next into British South Africa, and here the tracks of the superstition that we are following are obscured by the strong hand of the Government, which, in Cape Colony at all events, has no room for twin murders or such like social aberrations. We are, therefore, obliged to refer to historical documents if we wish to know whether the

[1] He instances the Ovambo tribe to the north of Damara land, who kill both twins.

Hottentots are to be classed either with the Hereros or with the Benin negroes.

Cape of Good Hope.

In Kolbe's work on *The Present State of the Cape of Good Hope*[1] we have a statement concerning the Hottentot festivals and barbarities at the birth of twins: the account strikes one as being overdrawn by the assistance of a powerful imagination, but most of the details can be paralleled elsewhere, so

Hottentots.

that we must not condemn Kolbe too hastily. He tells us[2] that the Hottentot women dread the birth of twins, and that they use their influence to persuade intending husbands to submit to a certain operation which is intended to remove twins out of the field of probable or possible events. As, however, in spite of these precautions twins are born, he proceeds to describe the customs that attach to them.

'On every birth, excepting still ones, the parents observe an *Andersmaken* or solemn feast by way of thanksgiving, in which all the inhabitants of the kraal they live in have a share. Yet do they often give the lie to those thanksgivings by a cruel custom, practised indeed by some other nations, but, to bosoms replenished with reason and humanity, the most shocking one in the world: and this on the birth of twins. If the twins are boys, the parents observe an Andersmaken by killing two fat bullocks for the entertainment of the whole kraal, men, women, and children, who all, with their parents, *rejoice at the birth as a mighty blessing. The mother only is excluded this entertainment,* so far, that she has only some of the fat of the bullocks sent her, with which to anoint herself and the new-born.

'But if the twins are girls, things take quite another face. There is little or no rejoicing: and all the sacrifice that goes to the Andersmaken on such an occasion is a couple of sheep at the most. But they cannot often resolve

One twin killed or exposed.

to rear both twins. If the parents are rich, and the mother has not, or pretends she has not, supplies of milk for her nourishment, the whole kraal which is consulted, forsooth, in form on this occasion, easily admitting this plea, the worse-

[1] English translation by Medley, London, 1731.

[2] Vol. I. p. 117.

featured of the two is buried alive, or exposed on the bough of a tree or among bushes.

'If the parents of twin girls are poor, their poverty is their plea for exposing or making away with one of them. They make this plea before the whole kraal, which generally allows it, without taking much pains to look into it. The case is the same when the twins are a boy and a girl, and the parents have a mind to be rid of one of them. Only here they are not governed by the features, in choice of the child to be buried alive or exposed. For the girl is certainly condemned, if either scarcity of the mother's milk, or poverty, be alleged against breeding up both. But great rejoicings are made for the boy.'

Now in reading over Kolbe's statement, one may hesitate to believe what he says about the attempt to frustrate physically the production of twins by an operation upon the male parent: but as to the rest of the story, it is not very different from what we have been recording elsewhere, and it appears to indicate that in the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Hottentot custom was gradually changing from aversion of twins to their approbation. The explanation given for not bringing one or both of them up, is not, indeed, the original thought, but it is one which we shall meet with not a few times elsewhere, among people who want a reason for a practice which they have not abandoned, and have lost the original explanation. To denounce Kolbe's accuracy because of its imputing an impossible degree of cruelty to the Hottentots is absurd. Le Vaillant, who pours scorn on Kolbe and his imaginings, tried to disprove the killing of twin children, and, failing in this, maintained that the supposed cruelty was really a case of preternatural tenderness. I quote his words[1]: 'I took great pains to enquire among the Hottentots whether, when a mother is delivered of twins, one of them is destroyed upon the spot: the result of my enquiry was, that this unnatural custom is very rarely practised. Though a great cruelty, it is supposed to owe its

Le Vaillant on Kolbe.

[1] Le Vaillant, *Travels in Africa* (English translation, London, 1790), vol. II. p. 57.

Twin killed from tenderness!

rise to maternal tenderness, the fear of not being able to furnish sufficient nourishment for both (and consequently seeing them perish) has suggested the expedient of sacrificing one to the safety of the other.'

We need hardly say, in view of the examples already accumulated, that this excess of maternal tenderness is a pure imagination. Le Vaillant goes on to say that the Gonaquais were wholly exempt from this reproach, and greatly offended at the suggestion of such a thing. It was, however, hardly possible to explain the twin-cult in the eighteenth century, and for travellers of that period (resident missionaries were scarce or non-existent) we must be thankful for the facts which they report to us, and improve, as best we may, on their explanations.

Kidd on S. African Twins.

An admirable summary of the twin-cult from the Kafir standpoint will be found in Mr Dudley Kidd's *Savage Childhood*[1]: he tells us that 'it is very difficult for any European to look at native customs practised in connection with the birth of twins from the Kafir point of view. The native thinks that twins are scarcely human; and that the bearing of twins is a thing entirely out of the course of nature. The people do not like to talk about twins, and the fact of their existence is hidden, if possible, by the parents. In olden days, one of the twins was always put to death, and frequently both were killed. It is natural, so it was thought, for dogs and pigs to have twin offspring in a litter, but for human beings it is disgraceful. A woman who has twins is taunted with belonging to a disgraceful family, and in olden times, if she gave birth to twins a second time, she was killed as a monstrosity. When one of the twins was allowed to live, an old woman, generally the grandmother, would kill the child by holding her hand over its mouth. In other cases the father placed a lump of earth in the mouth of the child, thinking he would lose his strength if he did not do this. In other tribes the child was exposed in the veld, and was left for the wild animals to devour, or else it was thrown into a river.'

One twin or both killed.

[1] pp. 45 sqq.

All of these points of view and all of these practices have already come before us. My friend, Dudley Kidd, points out that under British rule it is very difficult to carry on such practices, but that, in spite of British rule, they are still carried on secretly. He then gives some important information which he gathered from a chief's son in Zululand, who was himself a twin. A few of the important details may be set down, and for further information reference must be made to Dudley Kidd's book.

No name for twins.

A twin that is killed has no name: a twin that is saved has no name until he is sixteen. The twin in question was called 'Hatred,' which shows what his parents thought of him. Twins are regarded as being in abnormal sympathy with one another, which may very well be the case. When a twin marries there are no festivities. They are not counted amongst the children. Twins are said to have no brains, but to be, in spite of this, abnormally clever. They are supposed to be able to foretell the weather from their physical feelings. In war-time they are put in front of the army[1]. If a man does an action unduly dual, like eating two mice caught at the same time, the result may be that his wife will bear twins. We shall find plenty of similar ideas elsewhere.

Twins unlucky amongst Kafirs.

Mr Kidd remarks in conclusion that 'when the above fervid beliefs and fears about twins are borne in mind, it causes no surprise to learn that the people regard twins as most unlucky, and seek to kill them in infancy.' So much for the Kafir generally and for Zululand.

Next let us try Matabeleland, or as it is now called, Rhodesia.

Twins killed in Rhodesia.

Here is an extract from a London paper (*Daily News* for Dec. 27th, 1910) describing a twin murder among the Matabele.

[1] Compare the way in which they are carried in symbol before the Spartan army, in the shape of the Dokana, and how they are represented on the field of battle by the Spartan kings.

'A GHASTLY CUSTOM.

'WHERE TWINS AND TRIPLETS ARE KILLED.

'Bulawayo, Dec. 5th.

A case in British Courts.

'A remarkable case, showing the tenacity of the Matabele in clinging to ancient customs, came before the Circuit Court here this week. A native and his two wives were charged with the murder of the twin children of one of the latter. It is the Matabele custom to destroy twins, on the ground that their birth is due to the influence of some evil spirit. In the present case the children were buried alive. When triplets are born, the mother is killed as well as all three children. The prisoners told the Court that their fathers had instructed them always to destroy twins; but if the white men were sure that such a proceeding was not necessary, and even that it was wrong, they would not do it again. All three prisoners were sentenced to death, but with a recommendation to mercy which will probably prove effectual.'

On reading this report, it is easy to see that it is just the kind of offence in which it is almost impossible for the European to judge of the native mentality. The Matabele try to explain that what they are doing is their religion, and it is evidently not possible to make their judge sympathetic with that point of view. They are the victims of a great hereditary Fear; but if the white man can lift the Fear, they will change the custom. The white man does not understand the Fear, nor does he, in consequence, appreciate the concession.

Report from Town Clerk of Bulawayo.

As I was much interested in this case, and felt sure that it would result in racial contempt and hostility, I took the trouble to enquire of the Mayor of Bulawayo, and I was very courteously furnished by the Town Clerk with a newspaper report of the proceedings and an explanatory letter, which brought the news that 'the sentence of death inflicted upon the culprits had, in this instance, been eventually reduced

by the High Commissioner to penal servitude.' The letter concluded thus:

'The custom of putting to death twins immediately after birth is an old and superstitious one indulged in by the Matabele, and which in nearly every case is carried out with extreme brutality. This custom is, however, becoming less frequent the more it is being realised amongst the natives that such crimes are, under the English law, punishable by death.'

I suppose all our ancestors once took the Matabele view: it is a difficult matter for the twentieth century after Christ to sit in judgement on the twentieth century before Christ; and one can only hope that if these poor creatures have to be severely punished, it will not be penal servitude *for life*. The description given of Matabele views is illuminating, and brings out suggestively the idea that twins are due, in part, to the intervention of a spirit. It will be noticed that both children were killed and the mother spared. This suggests that the modification of the taboo begins with the mother, which is both natural and likely[1].

Bechuanas.

To the westward of Rhodesia and the Transvaal, we shall find the Bechuanas, concerning whom we have an early testimony to the following effect from John Campbell[2] (*Bootchuana Manners and Customs*, vol. II. p. 206).

Twins killed: men and kine.

When a woman has twins, one of the children is put to death. Should a cow have two calves one of them is either killed or driven away.

Here we have a new feature, the extension of the taboo to the larger cattle. This is important, for we shall find the same custom existing in Wales to-day, and in ancient India we shall find abundant evidence of it.

[1] There is a reference to the Matabele custom in Decle, *Three Years in Savage Africa*, p. 160: 'Twins (among the Matabele) are put to death, and the mortality among children is enormous.' Bent, in his *Ruined Cities of Mashonaland*, p. 276, notes that at Lutzi, 'if a woman gives birth to twins they are immediately destroyed. This they consider an unnatural freak on the part of the woman, and it is supposed to indicate famine, or some other calamity.'

[2] *Travels in South Africa, being a narrative of a second journey to the interior of that country*, London, 1822.

Mahalaka: one twin killed.

To the north of Matabeleland is a tribe called the Mahalaka. Amongst these people, if twins are born, one is always killed; the decision being made by throwing dice. The condemned child is put alive into a pot, and soon becomes the prey of the hyenas[1].

Bawenda.

In the N.E. corner of the Transvaal, between the rivers Limpopo and Levuvu, we have a people called the Bawenda, or people of Wenda. Of these people Gottschling says[2] that 'the *curriculum vitae* of the heathen Bawenda is a long succession of fear, superstition, oppression, and misery....If twins are born they are killed, for if they were left alive, it would bring a calamity upon the whole country, according to their opinion.' These people are supposed by Gottschling to have migrated to their present situation from the region of the great lakes.

Twins killed.

Baronga.

We come now to the Baronga tribes of the Portuguese E. Africa. To this tribe we have already made reference, and they occupy an important position in our enquiry. Dr Frazer first drew attention to them in his researches into rain-making, a subject intimately connected with the origin of kingship: and it was in following out the account of the Baronga customs, as described by a Swiss missionary named Junod, that we stumbled upon the interesting fact that the Baronga people described twins in the terms which recalled the *Dioscuri* or *Zeus' Boys* of the Greeks, and with the *Boanerges* or *Thunder-Boys* of the New Testament. The name for twins is *Bana-ba-Tilo*, where Tilo stands for the Sky, in its various manifestations: and it was of further importance that the twins with their mother were actually employed by the natives as rain-makers.

Twins are Sky-boys.

These remarkable coincidences give to the Baronga people a very important position in this enquiry. M. Junod's monograph on the Baronga is of the highest value: as, however, I have discussed the evidence which he gives in *Cult of*

[1] C. Mauch, quoted in Ploss, *Das Kind*, pp. 191 sqq. (Stuttgart, 1876).

[2] 'The Bawenda: a sketch of their history and customs,' in *Journ. Anthrop. Instit.* vol. xxxv. (1895), p. 371.

the Heavenly Twins[1], I shall not repeat all that is there said[2].

It should, however, be remembered that the twin-mother is immediately expelled with her children to a wretched hut in the neighbourhood, and has to undergo ceremonial purification. Her own hut is burnt and all her property, except so far as the witch-doctor is pleased to reserve anything for his own use. As the children grow up, they are driven away from the native village with cries of 'Go away, children of the Sky.' The women pour water over the twin-mother and sing rain-charms. M. Junod reports a case in which the grandfather of twins tried to kill one of them, but was prevented by the women in the neighbourhood. It is certain, therefore, that in old times the Baronga used to kill their twins; it is equally certain that they are now using them for beneficent purposes, through their supposed connection with the sky. The Baronga, therefore, are on the watershed between those who detest twins and those who delight in them, and they mark the transition from the one opinion to the other. The connecting-link in this case between cursing and blessing is the Sky-parentage. Survivals of ancient expulsion.

[1] pp. 18—21.

[2] M. Junod's work is entitled *Les Ba-ronga*: étude ethnographique sur les indigènes de la Baie de Delagoa; it was published at Neuchâtel in 1898 as the tenth volume of the *Bulletin de la Société Neuchâteloise de Geographie*.

CHAPTER VII

THE TWIN-CULT IN EAST AFRICA

Twins in British E. Africa.

In British East Africa we shall find abundant traces of the twin-superstition, with indications that the existing customs have behind them as cruel treatment of twins as can be found in the Niger delta. Sir H. H. Johnston tells us, however, of tribes at the S. end of L. Nyassa, and in the Shiré Highlands, which 'do not seem to care much one way or another whether twins are born[1].' On the other hand, amongst the Atonga, the birth of twins is a most unlucky circumstance, and although the people would not admit it, Johnston believes that one of twins was frequently killed. They have the curious belief that the tie between twins is so strong, that even when separated by distance, each feels the other's pain. In that case, to allow them both to live, is to double the pain of their lives. It may be regarded as probable that the Atonga originally killed twins, and now kill one of the two, though perhaps they are becoming ashamed of the practice.

The Waukonde.

Amongst the Waukonde, at the N. end of L. Nyassa, twins are also unpopular. As Sir H. H. Johnston says, 'the birth of twins is not ordinarily well-received and in some tribes one of the two children is killed. I have never heard of any case of triplets or quadruplets; and when I told natives that such cases occurred in England occasionally, *they expressed the greatest horror.*' To which the following important note is added:

'A curious custom obtains amongst the Waukonde, if twins are born. Both parents are put into a grass hut in a secluded part of the village, and there they abide for one

[1] H. H. Johnston, *British Central Africa*, pp. 418 sqq.

month. No villager can see the face of the secluded persons. The father hides himself lest his enemies should kill him.' Here we have again the twin-taboo, and the isolation of those involved; curiously the father, in this case, appears to be the worse offender. Probably there is here some exaggeration or misunderstanding of the situation.

The Akikuya.

Amongst the Akikuya of British E. Africa, whose customs have been studied by Mr and Mrs Routledge[1], we are told that 'twins as among other races are considered unlucky. If they are the first-born children they are both killed, or possibly only the last one. The idea is that they prevent a woman bearing again; if they come later in the family, the prejudice does not exist. Triplets are also unlucky without regard to position in the family, and one or all are killed. The same applies to an infant born feet first.'

It may be doubted whether this report is correct with regard to the repetition of twin-birth. The ordinary experience is exactly the opposite: a taboo which may be lightened at the first of such births, becomes more severe at a second. The danger of irregularly born children has already been noted in several instances.

German E. Africa.

In German East Africa, we note for Usambara and the neighbouring districts that child murder is frequent in Bondei. Children are killed here if they are twins or if the upper teeth appear before the lower, customs to which we have already given West African parallels. Such children are supposed to be unlucky[2].

The Wetumba.

In the same province we have from Mr Cole, the missionary of the Church Missionary Society at Mpwapwa, the following information[3]. 'The Wetumba, or Waspara, kill twins, but the Wagogo have no such custom. The Wetumba also kill infants...if the feet come first at birth; or if one hand protrudes at birth.' The case of the Wagogo does not seem to be exhaustively dealt with: one wants to know

[1] *With a prehistoric People: The Akikuya of British East Africa*, by W. Scoresby and Katharine Routledge (London: Arnold, 1910).

[2] Bäumann, *Usambara und seine Nachbargebiete*, Berlin, 1891. Bondei is in lat. 5° 15′ S. and long. 38° 45′ E.

[3] *Journal of Anthropological Institute*, XXXII. (1902), p. 308.

whether there are any purificatory rites which would imply fear or detestation in previous generations.

As to the Wetumba, we have already noted in W. African centres the dislike of a child born feet first. The other feature is new: it is also important, as it has a parallel in the book of Genesis in the story of Pharez and Zara, the twin children of Judah. No reason is forthcoming as to why the protrusion of the hand should be unlucky. In the Biblical parallel Pharez would seem to be lucky, for the benediction at the close of the book of Ruth on the posterity of Boaz is made in his name.

Central Africa.

In Mr Swann's delightful account of his great work in the civilisation of Central Africa[1] will be found a statement of the twin-problem as it presented itself to a pioneer of 'sweeter manners, purer laws.' Mr Swann does not say much about the destruction of twins on the scale of the more intense taboo. He came, however, to the conclusion that many children were killed because twin-mothers could not rear them and work in the rice fields as well.

'When a woman had given birth to twins, the work imposed on her in the rice fields was so great a burden as to be almost unbearable, and *there were, no doubt, thousands of infants killed.* I had long talks with the chiefs, but they all considered that it was no use punishing the women; we must gain our object by other means. I recognised that it was a great task for mothers with twin children to clean the tax-rice, and this helped me to solve the problem of infantile mortality.

'I issued the notice to the effect that all women who bore twins would be exempt from taxation during the current year, provided they brought the youngsters the following year.'

As might be expected, this caused some interesting developments on the lines of personation and plural voting.

The Waza-ramo.

In the neighbourhood of Zanzibar, amongst the Waza-ramo, twins, 'here called Wapacha, and by the Arabs of

[1] *Fighting the Slave Hunters in Central Africa*, p. 319.

Zanzibar, Shukul, are usually sold or exposed in the jungle as amongst the Ibos of W. Africa[1].'

So Burton, who also informs us concerning the Wanyamwezi, a tribe which dwells half-way between Zanzibar and Lake Tanganyika.

Here 'twins are not common as amongst the Kafir race, and one of the two is invariably put to death: the universal custom amongst these tribes is for the mother to wrap a gourd or calabash in skins, to place it to sleep with, and to feed it like the survivor[2].'

We may compare the West African custom of making an image of the dead twin, and placing it in the cradle with the living one.

Just north of Zanzibar, in British territory, to the N.W. of Mombasa, we have the tribe of the Wakamba. The Wakamba do not kill twins, but, according to Decle[3], 'they are supposed to bring bad luck, as it is thought the father will die before they grow up to be strong.' This supposed dangerous reaction of twins upon the father has also been noted among the Kafirs[4]. The Wakamba.

The same thought of danger to the parents is found amongst the Wadjagga, a people living in the neighbourhood of Kilimanjaro. Of these Merker writes that one of the twins is killed: if they are of the same sex, it is the first-born that is spared; when the sexes are different the girl is killed. If they did not kill these children it is believed that, later on, they would kill their parents[5]. The Wadjagga.

Next let us examine into the beliefs of the tribes known by the name of Warundi, who live between Zanzibar and Ujiji. These tribes speak a language (Kirundi), for which a dictionary has recently been published by a missionary named van der Burgt[6]. This dictionary and the attached

[1] Burton, *Lake Regions of Central Africa*, vol. I. p. 116.

[2] *Ibid.* vol. II. p. 23. [3] *Three years in Savage Africa*, p. 491.

[4] E.g. Dudley Kidd, *The Essential Kafir*, p. 202: 'If a mother gives birth to twins one is frequently killed by the father, for the natives think that unless a father places a lump of earth in the mouth of one of the babies, he will lose his strength.'

[5] Merker in Petermann, Ergänzungsband, xxx. Heft. 138; *Rechtsverhältnisse und Sitten der Wadschagga*, p. 13.

[6] v. d. Burgt, *Dictionnaire Français-Kirundi*.

notes contain an amount of valuable information as to the folk-lore and general customs of the people. I propose to make some extracts from and comments upon the article in the dictionary which is headed *Jumeau.*

We are first told that twins are frequent among the Warundi and that their birth is a religious event, which calls for ritual songs, dances, etc.: often lasting for weeks. The people say that, if these religious ceremonies were omitted, the children would die, and perhaps their parents also. Even if one or both of the twins were to die, the ritual must go on. This suggests that the evil has to be averted which the twins have brought.

As soon as the news gets abroad, all the neighbours flock together to take part in the ceremonial. They bring loads of presents for the parents, more exactly sacrificial offerings to the spirits. An incredible quantity of provisions is presented, and disappears, as if by magic.

The children being born the Kiranga, whom I suppose to be the witch-doctor, appears with his acolytes to implore the favour of the spirit Rikiranga. If the twins are born at night, the announcement throws the whole village into an uproar. Meal and leaves are scattered around the hut, they sprinkle also a mixture of water and beer and other consecrated liquid. Then the ritual dances begin. and are carried to the point of frenzy: the dancers, male and female, are *marked with red and white paint,* and they dance and leap as if the devil was in them, for hours at a time, with the sweat streaming off them. Meanwhile they are singing ritual hymns which are proper to the several dances. The names of the dances themselves are *Turerewe, Ntamanevje, Awana ni wawiri.* A witch doctress sprinkles the company with some liquid: on the third day, when the mother comes out of her hut, the ceremony of the spear, as it is called, begins afresh. It is also renewed if, at a subsequent time, the woman should have other children, not twins.

Of the children, the first born is always called *wakuru, wuwiruke*: the second is called *wutoyi wusinga, shakati.*

Children born subsequently take the names: (i) *cyiza* or *shahati*, (ii) *wisago*, (iii) *nyambere*.

At the birth of twins two black sheep are purchased, one of which is devoted and assigned to each of the twins. The greatest care is taken of these sheep, they can run where they like, and feed where they will. If one sheep dies it must be replaced. These sheep are the external representation of the spirits of the twins.

The question may be asked, Why they conduct these religious ceremonies over twins. The reason is that the Warundi believe the mother has had the visit of an incubus. The younger people think this is a joke, but the older people, the initiated, the *awafumu*, keep up the belief. They know that these twin-children, half spirits as they are, do not commonly live. Their spirit calls for them; he is a jealous spirit, and may even call for the father and mother, taking their tribute in corpses!

Now the account which we have here summarized is of real value: it brings out clearly the fact of the intrusive spirit ancestry. A spirit is responsible for one, if not both, of the children. The whole community is in danger, and averting rites must be practised. That is why the community comes together for the dance and the ritual chant, and why they bring presents. But what sort of a spirit is the cause of the uncanny phenomenon? In order to find this out, we must examine the songs that are sung by the painted dancers: van der Burgt comes to our aid with translations of some of these songs: his translations are tentative, but they are sufficiently exact to show clearly what the people are about. The first of his songs is something to the following effect:

Hymn I.

(The guardian spirit) will see his children and will rejoice:
The supposed father of the twins, where was he (at the moment of their conception)?
He was gone to draw water, to gather firewood, to cut grass;
The children of the family, I see them.
(The guardian spirit) will see his children and will rejoice.

This hymn shows clearly that the savages have the belief

in a second parent, who came when the regular parent was away from home. This spirit parent is entreated to look kindly upon the children. At the end of the hymn, it is said in his name, that he does look favourably on them.

The second chant is equally instructive:

Hymn II.

I was not there, my children: I was gone to gather wood!
I was far away: the father of the twins enters.

. . . . . .

To-morrow I shall thunder, O twins,
I shall come down in a storm.

Here the first lines represent the father of the twins explaining his absence, in the same way as was suggested in the first hymn. The dancers answer their own questions in his name: but towards the end of the hymn, the spirit-father speaks, and discloses to us the fact that he is the storm-spirit, or thunder-god. The twins are therefore the Sons of Thunder. So much being clearly made out, it is surely not an undue stretch of the imagination to suggest that the red and white paint of the dancers is the symbol of the thunder and lightning.

From this dialect dictionary, with its careful notes and observations, we have learnt a good deal about the meaning of twin-births to primitive man. It is especially important to note that here, among the Warundi, the spirit-father is credited with both of the children: each of them is a Dioscure: their parent is the thunder, and we may, if we please, call them Boanerges.

Captain Merker and the Masai.

The name of Merker, to which we referred some way back, brings up the Masai, and his careful account of their manners and customs. Without necessarily endorsing all of Merker's views as to the possible Semitic ancestry of the Masai, it may be remarked that the criticisms made upon Merker are, so far, entirely insufficient to shake his credibility as to the matters of fact which he professes to record.

Twin boys welcomed.

Amongst the Masai, then, there is the greatest joy over the birth of twins, especially if they are boys. The twins are decorated with a neck-ornament of leather to which

cowry-shells are attached. The mother does not bring up both the children, but has the assistance of another woman belonging to the same kraal. No special names are attached to twins. If there were any peculiar purifications, they appear not to be practised any longer. Did such purifications ever exist? the analogy of all the other tribes that we have been discussing suggests an affirmative answer: but if that is the right answer it is probable that a closer examination would betray traces of the purifications or of isolations of mother and children. We are certainly far removed from the West African treatment of the matter.

This absence of purificatory rites would be much more intelligible if we could be sure that Merker had made out his case for a Semitic ancestry of the Masai, and for the derivation of them from an Asiatic home by migration through Egypt. In that case they would have brought their twin cult out of Asia, and probably from a higher civilization than they now enjoy, from which higher civilization the purificatory rites might well have disappeared.

Are the Masai Semitic?

It would be well if some consensus could be arrived at on this question, either *pro* or *con*. For certainly the coincidences which Merker points out between the Masai legends and the stories in the Old Testament are too striking to be accidental. Either they are real national traditions, or they have learnt the stories from Christian missionaries. Up to the present, there is no satisfactory proof of the latter, and Professor Hommel has recently expressed his belief that they are really the Semitic people which Merker affirmed them to be[1].

It will help the understanding of the involved problem if we take one single case, out of the many which occur in the Masai traditions collected by Merker, for a closer consideration[2]: the story deals with a case of deceit, resulting in the alienation of the rights of the first-born of two brothers. It tells how a man named Mutari married a woman whose name was Nasingoi. Nasingoi conceived

[1] See *Expository Times* for June and July, 1910.

[2] Merker, *Die Masai*, p. 311.

The Masai Esau and Jacob story.

triplets, two of whom were born first, after the normal manner of twins, while the third was delayed, and did not reach the outer world till three months later. The first-born was covered with hair and had a beard, for which reason he was called *'L ol munjoi*, the bearded one. The second one was called *'L en jergog*, because his mother wrapped him up after birth in an untanned calf-skin. The third child, when it appeared, was appropriately named *Ndarassi*, the loiterer. The first child continued to develop his hairy characteristics, the second remained nearly hairless, with a very scanty beard: while the third had actually no hair at all.

The story certainly opens with striking coincidences with the Esau and Jacob legends in the book of Genesis. Now let us see what happens. One day the father was very sick, and the two elder brothers betook themselves to a prayer-festival, which was being held in the neighbourhood, in order to pray for the recovery of their father. Ndarassi, however, the youngest son, remained at home in the kraal. Meanwhile the father became worse, and realising that his death was at hand, he called for his eldest son, 'L ol munjoi, to bless him before he departed. Ndarassi heard the cry, promptly stripped off a goatskin, and put the parts of it on his breast, his shoulders, and his cheeks. He went into the darkness of the hut, and deceived his father in the Biblical manner. When the eldest son returned and went into the hut in order to get the blessing of his dying father, he found that he had been anticipated and that Ndarassi had been made the heir.

The story here combines two biblical incidents, the fraud of the birthright, and the fraud of the blessing: the blessing is no distant Messianic theme, nor general promise of fertile lands, etc., it is the actual inheritance. The elder brother departed, angry enough at what had happened, and returned later with warriors to take his revenge on Ndarassi; the latter, however, met him friendly, and by presents and fair speeches diverted his eldest brother's anger. Here again we have extraordinary coincidence with the Jacob and Esau

story: and it must be admitted that the Masai account cannot be treated as independent of the book of Genesis. We are often surprised at the appearance of the same folk-lore traits in different parts of the world, but here the agreements are too close and too significant to be set on one side. It follows that either the Masai traditions are substantially the Biblical traditions as brought by them from an Asiatic home, or they have been brought into the Masai story book by Christian teachers in modern times. In the former case, we have what is practically a new copy of Genesis and part of Exodus opened to us (the Masai traditions going down to the giving of the Law, with Kilimanjaro for Sinai), in which case the variants in the legends will often be significant and important; in the alternative supposition, we have a tale of deceit, successfully accomplished by natives upon an inquisitive German scholar, to which we shall not easily find a parallel. In which direction does the truth lie? It is not easy to decide: Merker's book was promptly used by the late Professor Emil Reich as a cudgel for the backs of the higher critics, who were supposed to be annihilated by a new proof of the antiquity of the Mosaic traditions, though it was difficult to see how the Mosaic records were to be rendered credible by proving them to be a part of Arabian folk-lore thousands of years before Christ[1]!

Cameron on Merker.

The question was very fairly stated by Prof. Cameron of Aberdeen in the *Expository Times* for February, March, and April 1906. The conclusion at which Prof. Cameron arrived was a sympathetic suspense of judgement: 'It is obvious that, if Captain Merker has given us the real beliefs of the Masai, an interesting and important question has been raised for Biblical students. It would be unreasonable to throw the Captain's conclusions aside, as of no value; it would be foolish to accept them as beyond dispute. What is wanted

[1] Reich, *Cont. Rev.* (Feb. 1905): 'Thousands of years before Christ a stock of religious and other legends had grown up amongst the peoples of Arabia...legends about the Creation, the Deluge, the Decalogue, etc. in their aboriginal form.'

is further investigation, and it is sincerely to be hoped that this may be undertaken without loss of time.' Probably it was this challenge which called forth a letter in the *Expository Times* for June 1906, from Mr A. R. Steggall, a missionary amongst the Masai, who declared roundly that though he had often had peculiar opportunities for becoming acquainted with the Masai legends, 'anything in the least like what Captain Merker has got from them was never so much as hinted at.' And he maintains that Mr A. C. Hollis, the author of a valuable work on *The Masai, language and folk-lore,* agreed with him, and told him that he had been assured by a Masai boy in his employ that Captain Merker's informant had been for some years connected with a Roman Catholic Mission in the neighbourhood, and that numbers of Masai had been under instruction in the Church Missionary Society's Station at Taveta.

Steggall on Merker.

Hollis on Merker.

In estimating the value of these objections, it should be remembered that Merker himself says that it took years of intercourse before the state of friendliness was attained in which the legends were confided to him; and that it is therefore not surprising that Steggall and Hollis, in spite of their peculiar opportunities, should not have found their way as completely or as successfully into the Masai mind.

From this time forward, I do not think any further progress was made with the matter in England, until in June and July of 1910, the *Expository Times* reprinted with expansions the preface which Dr Fritz Hommel had written for the second edition of his friend, Captain Merker's book (Merker being himself now deceased). Hommel shows conclusively that the linguistic affinities of the Masai language are with the Gallo and Somali languages, and that their scheme of verb conjugation is fundamentally Semitic; so that there is fresh reason for believing that the Masai came from the North, and originally from Arabia. He concludes his statement as follows: 'I close this article with the sure expectation that now, when my deceased friend's book has appeared in a second edition, the traditions of the Masai will no longer meet with the scepticism to

Hommel on Merker.

which they were exposed when they were first divulged, but that they will be duly appreciated in their incalculable importance for the history of religion, as they deserve to be. And I repeat once more that a Christian or Jewish influence of a former time (at all events through Christian Nuba from the third century A.D., or through the Jewish Falashas on the borders of Abyssinia) or from the older northern abodes of the Masai, is out of the question because then —a fact which Merker had emphasized—one would necessarily have expected connections not only with the history of the Biblical ancestors and patriarchs down to the giving of the Law, but also with the later parts of Biblical history (and especially some sort of allusion to the Gospels, in the event of Christian missionaries coming into consideration).'

I do not know that I can make a serious contribution of my own to the solution of the problem at the present time. It still seems to require scientific treatment and further investigation. If we quote the Masai legends in our argument, we must do so with some residual suspense of judgement as to the value and validity of what we quote.

In the course of Professor Hommel's argument, to which we have drawn attention, he shows that the Nandi tribes must be closely connected with the Masai, for linguistic and other reasons. Let us now see what the Nandi think on the subject of twins. These tribes live on the east side of Lake Nyanza, not far from Kavirondo Bay: the Kavirondo tribes are partly Nilotic and partly Bantu; to the east of these lie the Nandi, and the Lumbwa tribes. It will be convenient to take these together, and our guide will be Hobley in his work on *Eastern Uganda*. He tells us with regard to the Bantu Kavirondo[1] that 'twins are considered very lucky, and amongst the Ama-wanga the birth of twins is celebrated by what appears to us to be a somewhat obscene dance. The mother of twins has to remain seven days in her house before she may appear across the threshold.'

The Nandi.

[1] *Eastern Uganda*, p. 17.

Here we have the isolation of the mother in a much reduced form: but it is there, and implies that some evil has to be averted.

The Kavirondo.

Of the Nilotic Kavirondo, we are told[1] that 'twins are considered lucky, but the infants and their parents have to stay in seclusion in their hut for a whole month. Women neighbours may enter the hut, but men may not. The twin born first is called Apio (the one who comes quickly). The twin born second is called Adongo (the one who is delayed)[2]. The birth of twins is signalised by dances which extend over a whole month: they are apparently of a somewhat obscene character.' Sir H. H. Johnston says nearly the same in his book on the *Uganda Protectorate*[3]: 'The (Kavirondo) women are prolific, and the birth of twins is not an uncommon occurrence. This is considered an extremely lucky event, and is celebrated by an obscene dance, which is, however, only lewd in its stereotyped gestures, and does not, so far as I know, result in actual immorality. The mother of twins must remain in her house for seven days without crossing the threshold.' These are Bantus; of the Ja-Luo, whom Johnston classifies as Nilotic negroes, we are told that 'twins are considered lucky, though their arrival is attended by a good many ceremonies, and by propitiatory dances, which are of an obscene nature.'

The Ja-Luo.

It is not difficult to detect the primal fear at the back of these rejoicings.

The Nandi and Lumbwa.

For the Nandi and Lumbwa tribes[4] Hobley says that 'if a woman bears twins, the twins are not killed as in some tribes, but the woman has to go and live apart for some months, and she is not allowed to go near the cattle boma, but one cow is put aside for her, and she drinks its milk; if she goes near the cattle they are said to die.' Here also the excess of joy at the birth of twins is tempered by the

[1] l.c. p. 28.

[2] We may compare the Masai title *the loiterer* as above, for the third in a group of triplets.

[3] *Uganda Protectorate*, II. p. 748.

[4] *Eastern Uganda*, pp. 39 sqq.

sense of danger which they cause, and the consequent necessity of isolation.

There are very nearly the same statements in Johnston, *ut supra*, II. 878. According to Hollis, the Nandi have a sky-god (the sun?) and a pair of thunder-gods, one kindly and the other malevolent. The sky-god is called *Asista*, the superhuman thunder-gods *Ilet ne mie* (the good one) and *Ilet ne ya* (the evil one)[1]. The collocation is extremely suggestive. It is suggested that the two thunder-gods of the Nandi should be compared with the two lightning gods among the Ewe-tribes of West Africa.

Twin thunder-gods?

Hollis makes the taboo of the twin-mother to be life-long. According to him, 'the birth of twins is looked upon as an inauspicious event, and the mother is considered unclean for the rest of her life....She may enter nobody's house until she has sprinkled a calabash of water on the ground, and she may never cross the threshold of a cattle-kraal again. One of the twins is always called *Simatua*...whilst the other receives an animal's name such as *Chep-tiony*, *Chep-sepet*, *Che-maket*, *Che-makut* etc.[2]' Simatua is explained to be the name of a species of fig-tree.

Not far from the Victoria Nyanza lake on the north, we come to the Basoga-Batamba tribe, in the Uganda Protectorate, of whom M. A. Condon writes in *Anthropos* for March—April 1911[3]. From him we learn that twins in this district are not killed, but welcomed, and especial names are assigned to them: e.g. when the twins are

The Basoga-Batamba.

boy and girl, *Naiswa* and *Babilye*,
two boys, *Waiswa* and *Kato*,
two girls, *Uja* and *Babilye*.
(Babilye = second).

Special names.

Concerning twins generally[4] it is said that their birth is considered a great blessing. Certainly it is a very rare occurrence, and triplets is an occurrence never heard of. After the birth of twins, no one is allowed to look at them,

[1] See Hollis, *The Nandi, their language and folklore*, p. 41.
[2] Hollis, l.c. p. 68.
[3] p. 395.
[4] l.c. p. 376.

not even the father, although 'I have seen occasions,' says Condon, 'when the happy man would like to break through this rigorous rule. The good tidings are soon spread, the relations are informed of this joyous event. Ten days after birth the children are given names....For the *mbaga* or feast, if the father be a rich man, two bulls are slaughtered, one for each child. If a poor man, two goats are sufficient. Of course, the everlasting *malwa* or beer, is in great demand, and each one imbibes freely, so that by midnight there will not be a sober one among the company. This is the occasion for much immorality. Paid dancers are brought in. These are men and women who very often are quite nude, and perform dances mostly of an immoral nature. The whole time the singing is in praise of the happy couple, wishing them and their offspring long life.'

Twin-feast.

Twin dances.

So far no special function is predicated of the twins, but we shall find presently conclusive evidence that they stand for the forces that make for fertility. There is, however, amongst the tribes in question, a peculiar regard paid to the umbilical cord and the placenta. Condon notes that in the case of twins the former is always kept, and generally is worn by the father about his person.

Preservation of birth-tokens.

There is also a curious custom, according to which every one of the relations presents a cowry-shell to the twin mother. These she makes into two strings, and takes them always with her, in the event of one or other of the twins dying. She calls them *bana bange*, my children. 'It is most amusing (says Condon), to see the mother of twins cleaning and scrubbing the cowry-shells as if they were her own flesh and blood.'

Twins as cowry-shells.

I suppose that it is of tribes occupying adjoining territory to the foregoing (the Bakena) that Roscoe speaks in a recent Anthropological journal[1]; here, 'twins are thought to be gifts of the gods, and the happy father announces their birth by beating a drum. The sound is taken up and repeated by his neighbours, so the good news goes rumbling

The Bakena.

[1] *Man.* IX. (1909), pp. 118 sqq. quoted by Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*.

down the waterways for a long distance. The father's sister's son, hastens to the house, closes the front door, and makes a temporary opening at the back of the hut. He takes the leading part in the dancing ceremonies which follow. The after-birth of the twins is put into two new cooking pots and dried; then it is taken ashore and left in the grass in one of the gardens.' The taboo on the mother and twins by closing the house and making an opening at the back has been already noticed in West Africa in various forms.

The Baganda.

We now come to the Baganda, or people of Uganda, for whom we are splendidly furnished with information by Mr Roscoe, whom we have just been quoting[1]. The birth of twins is followed by a propitiatory and thanksgiving ceremony to Mukasa, the god of plenty. From which we see that twins have now fertility for their chief mark, and will be useful accordingly, both to men and plants.

'No announcement is made (amongst the Baganda) of the birth of twins, nor is the word twins mentioned until the rejoicings are over. Should any refer to their birth, it is believed the children will die[2].'

Ceremonies at twin-birth.

'The father is called Salongo, the mother Nalongo, and the children Balongo. If the birth takes place during the day, both the mother and children must remain outside until the father goes to the *mandwa* (priest) whom he consulted when his wife conceived. He takes with him nine cowrie shells and one seed of the wild banana; these are the tokens which inform the *mandwa* (priest) that twins are born. The Mandwa consults the oracles and tells the father the result; he instructs him how to act, to take the children into the house, and call a friend to come and act as *Mutaka*.'

The Mutaka is now master of the ceremonies; he closes the front door, and makes openings at the back of the house, as described above for the Nandi.

[1] *Journal of Anthropological Institute* (*J.A.I.*), vols. xxxi., xxxii. (1901, 1902).

[2] *J.A.I.* xxxii. p. 33.

'Salongo next takes an offering to Muanga, the chief priest of Mukasa, as a thank offering for the great favour shown him in giving him twins.'

'The Mutaka waits until the evening, when he is given the placenta of each child, which he takes to some uncultivated spot near, and puts them into a couple of earthen pots and leaves them there....The placenta of a prince is always preserved, it is called the *mulongo*[1].' There follows a description of the dancing and feasting which take place a month later, when the flower of the banana is medicined by contact with the body of the fertile and fertilizing twin-mother. It is evident that in Uganda, as amongst the ancient Peruvians, woman is supposed to be the agricultural side of the house, a barren woman a curse to the field and garden, a fertile woman, such as a twin-mother, the very opposite. This is the main reason why twins are such a blessing to the whole community.

Fertility communicated.

Salongo then remains at home till the next war expedition, after which there is another feast, ending up with the making of an effigy of each child, which is called the *Mulongo*.

Body of dead twin dried before burial.

'When twins die, they are not buried at once, but their bodies are placed by the fire and dried; the mother has to sleep with them near the fire each night, as though they were alive. Should *Salongo* (the father) be absent they await his return for the funeral. The *Mutaka* buries them, and *Nalongo* puts the stones from the fireplace on the graves. Each child, according to custom, must have a separate grave.'

It will be seen clearly from the foregoing that for the Baganda the leading feature in a twin birth is Fertility, and that this is supposed to react upon the whole community, and upon their fields and gardens. In the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute* for January—June 1907, Roscoe describes another tribe in the Uganda Protectorate, called the Bahima[2]. Amongst this people one clan has for

The Bahima.

[1] Apparently this means 'twin' and the placenta is imagined to be the prince's double.

[2] *J.A.I.* XXXVII. p. 100.

totem *Abalongo*, i.e. twins. 'When a woman gives birth to twins the natives desert the kraal, place the mother and twins with her parents, and build a new kraal; when the twins have cut their first teeth the husband restores his wife to her home.' Evidently up to that time the mother and twins are tabooed, but only slightly.

Amongst the Bahima generally, there are no elaborate ceremonies over twins. They prefer, however, that twins should be of one sex; to have them of opposite sexes is unlucky. 'They are afraid to speak about them in a disparaging way lest a ghost should overhear them and be angry and cause illness in the clan.' Very likely that ghost has something to do with the parentage of the twins.

Twins of opposite sexes unlucky.

We have also some information from the same province in the travels of Emin Pasha (i.e. E. Schnitzer); whose letters and despatches were published in 1888 by Schweinfürth and Ratzel[1].

Of the Magungo who live near the Albert Nyanza we learn that if twins are born of the same sex, the whole village rejoices over the event. They have special words for the first and last born of the twins.

The Magungo.

Here again we have hostility implied to twins of opposite sexes: the reason will be given by tribes in Australia and elsewhere: it is due to a fear that the rules about clan marriage have been ante-natally violated.

Twins of opposite sexes disliked.

Of the Wanyoro, or people of Unyoro, we are told[2] again that a birth feet first portends misfortune to the family. This is the reason for the Roman cult of Venus Verticordia, to which we have already referred. Amongst the Wanyoro, the birth of twins causes great joy and rich presents are brought to the mother from all quarters: the first-born, whether boy or maid, is called Singoma, the other is named Kato. The placenta of each twin is placed in an earthen pot, and for four days stands in a miniature hut erected inside the house, after which it is carried in procession

The Wanyoro.

Names of twins.

[1] Emin Pasha: *Eine Sammlung von Reisebriefen und Berichten Dr Emin-Pasha's:* von Schweinfürth und Ratzel (Leipzig, 1888).

[2] l.c. pp. 81, 82.

to a great hut erected in the high grass, and there it is left.

Care of placenta.

If the twins die, they and their placentae are put in an earthen pot in the mother's hut. Again a miniature hut is erected, over which the father watches to keep the hyenas away. A long period of mourning follows, and at the end of it, the hut in which the birth occurred is burnt.

Twins in Monbuttuland.

In Monbuttuland, which is somewhat to the west of the tribes just described[1], twins are regarded as peculiarly lucky, and are the occasion of a great festival to which all the people of the neighbourhood bring presents. The after-birth is carried in procession in a pot and buried, and every one is obliged on the way to pluck two leaves, to spit on them and throw them right and left. Twins here have special names;

Special names.

Boys: *Aburi* and *Nabesse*:
Girls: *Abuda* and *Tindade*.

The Lattuka.

A little lower down the Nile, between Gondokoro and Agaru, there is a people called Lattuka[2]. Here we find traces of the gloomier view of twin-births; it is held that a twin-birth brings ill luck to the father: if he goes buffalo-hunting, he will certainly be killed by the buffalo: if he wounds an antelope, it will escape the man. A person so threatened will not venture to hunt[3]: he will stay in the village until some other woman bears twins and diverts the ill luck, or until his wife brings another child into the world, and so breaks the spell. Twins have no special names, and are brought up with the other children, without prejudice against them. In fact, the ill luck in this case appears to be concentrated on the father.

Twins unlucky to the hunter.

Bari tribes.

Somewhat lower down the Nile[4] amongst the Bari and Fadjelin tribes, the names given to male twins are Keniy and Mundia[5].

[1] l.c. p. 208. [2] l.c. p. 236.

[3] The adverse influence of twins on the hunt should be noted: elsewhere the favourable view of twins expresses itself in the belief that they are great aids to the hunter.

[4] l.c. p. 361.

[5] This was noted by the travellers because a couple of hills were named

The Bari tribes, to whom reference has just been made, occupy a vast extent of country to the west of Galla Land, say about Lat. 5 N., and Long. 34 E. Of these people Casati reports[1] that 'twins are considered unlucky, and when a birth of this kind takes place, the mother is sent back to her father, who is bound to return part of the dowry paid. There appears to be no thought of killing the twins; they are unlucky; ill-starred; evil-omened.

Twins unlucky.

We have now accumulated a mass of evidence from tribes existing in Africa at the present time, or in quite recent days, with regard to the almost universal diffusion of the twin-taboo, and the various interpretations and developments that it undergoes. Almost all these peculiarities will turn up in other parts of the world, and some will be especially significant, on account of the place which they hold in Greek and Roman Mythology. The twin-beliefs do not identify the twins with Sky or Thunder so much as might have been expected: this is partly due to the fact that the travellers who make reports of savage customs do not always know what to look for; the most decided case is that of the Baronga, where the African civilization can be seen to have touched an early Greek level. Next in importance we may place the Warundi, who identify the parent of twins with the Storm-god. The identification of a second parent is clearly made in a number of cases, but whether this second parent is a spirit or an animal is not very clear; sometimes it appears to be one, and sometimes the other. There are cases in which the influence causing the dual birth is the totem of the mother, so that it is conceivable that the thunder may itself have come on the scene as a totem. Bird-parentage is occasionally suggested, but in West Africa, monkeys seem more prominent in the cult than birds. If the thunder had been a common

Summary of African evidence.

twins, the names being those given above. It is interesting to compare a modern instance like the twin hills just outside Genoa, or in ancient times the twin peaks of Delphi (i.e. if Delphi is really an abbreviation or an earlier form of Adelphi).

[1] Casati, *Ten years in Equatorial Africa*, I. p. 303.

totem, or a common second parent, we should have expected to find more use of the colour red in connection with the twins: as a matter of fact, white in the form of chalk-smearing is more common, and in one instance we are expressly told that 'white things be twin things.' On this question of the interpretation of the white-painting some further investigation appears to be necessary. It may be an alternative colour for lightning. Cases of red and white painting are suggestive[1].

We have now made a rapid tour of the savage races in Africa: nothing has been said about the tribes and peoples on the Mediterranean sea-board, nor have we discussed the Egyptians: in the case of the latter, we are not confined to modern history; we have the oldest records in the world to draw upon, when we enquire whether twins were hated or adored by the ancient Egyptians. The matter had better be detached from the African tribes.

We will now go on to discuss the situation in Madagascar.

[1] For a striking case of red and white painting to represent thunder and lightning in Central Australia, see Additional Notes at the end of the volume.

CHAPTER VIII

THE TWIN-CULT IN MADAGASCAR

MADAGASCAR goes geographically with Africa, but its ethnographical relations are by no means exclusively African. There are Malay elements in the origins of the Malagasy tribes. As, however, geographical contiguity is the first factor in our arrangement of the theme, let us see what can be said of twins in Madagascar, without asking how far Malagasy customs can be paralleled in the Malay Peninsula. Allusion was made to the subject in *Cult*, pp. 22, 23, where evidence was brought forward as to the former prevalence of twin-murder in Madagascar from members of the Friends' Mission in that country. Mr Standing had, in fact, pointed out in his book *Children of Madagascar* (p. 31), that 'twins were also considered unlucky, and one would often be sent away to be brought up by some one else or even *put to death as soon as born.*' In Madagascar the word for Taboo is Fady, and Mr Standing has published an extended enumeration of existing forms of Fady in Madagascar[1]. This list, however, seems to refer to existing superstitions as to what is lucky and unlucky, and its references to twins are few. I notice, however, one or two cases: No. 209 = No. 252. If a pregnant woman eats anything double, she will bear twins.

Twin-murder in Madagascar.

This is only a case of sympathetic magic; it may be paralleled elsewhere, in Denmark, for example, where to eat a double nut, or to look on a woman wearing two aprons, is supposed to have the same effect of twin-birth. It is obvious that such mild taboos as these have little to do with the great Fear that we have been discussing: they

[1] H. F. Standing, 'Les Fady Malgaches,' Extrait du *Bulletin de l'Académie Malgache*, Tananarive (1883).

belong to a much more advanced stage of civilization. In the same collection (No. 613) will be found a warning against planning a house with a *retour d'aile* in the month of Alakurabo. The sequence will be twins; but I confess I do not see the reason for this. Mr Standing has also written on the same subject, in a Madagascar Journal[1], from which it appears that in the province of Imerina it was *fady* to keep alive both of a pair of twins together. Apparently each parent disposed of one of the pair. If the twins appeared in the royal family, they and their mother lost their noble rank.

M. Gennep, who has written a treatise on *Taboo and Totemism in Madagascar*[2], observes that amongst the people referred to by Standing (the Antimerina) it is probable that twins were originally put to death. On the other hand, in the south of the island, amongst the Tanala, twins were regarded as a gift of the supreme god, Zanahary[3].

M. Gennep notes further the gradual modification of the original twin murder, and the alleviation of the taboo also in the cases of children born on an unlucky day, week, or month. In the S.E. of the island, amongst the Antambahoaka, when a woman gives birth to twins, she and her assistants withdraw at once, and give place to the witch doctor, who promptly strangles the children; after which the family reassembles and mourns over them. Or they throw them into the swamp on the pretence that they cannot live, or that they would be dangerous to their parents if they were brought up, and might actually threaten their lives. A woman who refused to follow the custom of the tribe was said to have seen one of her children lose its life, and the other its reason[4].

[1] *Ant. Ann.* No. VII. 1883, p. 79.

[2] Gennep, 'Tabou et totémisme en Madagascar,' quoted in *Revue des traditions populaires*, Jan. 1907, pp. 45–7.

[3] Durand, 'Étude sur les Tanalas d'Ambohimanga du Sud,' *Notes, Reconn. Expl.* 1898, t. II. p. 1275.

[4] G. Ferrand, 'Notes sur la région comprise entre les rivières Mananjara et Iavibola,' Extrait du *Bull. Soc. Géogr.* Paris, 1896, p. 14. *Les Musulmans à Madagascar*, fasc. II. Paris, 1893, pp. 21, 22.

We need scarcely doubt that in Madagascar, as well as on the African mainland, twins were taboo in the severest sense, and that the same alleviations of taboo occurred as we have noticed in other places. We have also the same phenomenon which we observed elsewhere, of the opposite interpretations given to an original state of taboo by different tribes.

CHAPTER IX

THE TWIN-CULT IN SOUTH AMERICA

Twins in South America.

Now let us cross into South America, and see what customs still prevail at the birth of twins, and what can be traced as having been practised in olden times. We shall have to remember at the outset that when we are discussing a negroid population, say in Brazil, that has been brought from the West Coast of Africa, we are not necessarily collecting any fresh evidence, though we may be reviving evidence of a hundred or two hundred years ago with regard to the Guinea coast or elsewhere.

When we are dealing with tribes, whose migration can be traced from Mexico or other parts of North America, we shall equally find ourselves in difficulty as to whether the evidence is always to be regarded as South American; but these questions of ethnographic origin can be left for future study: what we have to do is to find out for the present, or the not very remote past, the distribution of the twin-superstitions.

The results will be instructive, for we shall be discussing civilizations higher than the Bantu in Africa, and, for the most part, far removed from the Negroes (Yoruba, Ibo and other tribes already discussed).

Orinoco Indians.

We will begin with some general statements. The abbot Filippo Salvadore Gilii, in his description of Spanish South America[1], tells us that the people in the region of Orinoco, whether because single births are the normal thing or because multiple births suggest the infidelity of the wife, pretend great surprise at hearing that, amongst the Spaniards,

[1] *Saggio di Storia Americana, o sia Storia Naturale, Civile, e Sacra dei regni e delle provincie Spagnuole di Terra-ferma nell' America meridionale, descritta dall' abate Filippo Salvadore Gilii*, vol. II. p. 261. Rom. 1781.

twins occur. They say they are not dogs to bring forth children in that way. To avoid, then, the reviling of others, when such a birth occurs, they bury one of the children. In the same Spartan way they deal with defective children, and with *children born feet first*, twisting their necks as soon as born. One child killed.

The foregoing statement is confirmed by Gumilla[1], who reports that if a child is born with any defect or monstrosity, or with a hare-lip, it must die on the spot; and in the same way in the case of twins, one of them is immediately buried by its own mother. He also reports a special case in honour of the Virgin Mary, when one of the Mission-Fathers heard that an Indian woman had buried a daughter four hours previously; the Padre implored the protection of the Virgin, hastened to the spot, disinterred the child, which was still alive, and baptised it by the name of *Mary of the Miracle*; the said child grew up in the Mission of S. Miguele, and was eleven years old when Gumilla wrote. He does not say whether the child was a twin; nor does he seem to have any other explanation except cruelty for the murder of such children.

We have similar statements concerning the barbarities of the Guyana Indians from the pen of the great traveller Humboldt[2]. 'Among the barbarous peoples of Guyana, as among the half-civilized inhabitants of the South Sea, many young women do not wish to become mothers. If they have children, these are not only exposed to the dangers of savage life, but to still other dangers, arising from popular prejudices of the most fantastic kind. If the children happen to be twin-brothers, the false ideas of propriety and of family honour require that one of them should perish; to bring twins into the world is to expose oneself to public ridicule, it is to be like the rats, like the opossums, like the vilest animals, which bring forth many young at once. But there Guyana Indians. One child killed.

[1] *Historia natural, civil y geografica de las naciones situadz en las riberas del rio Orinoco*, vol. II. p. 53. My references are to a popular edition, published at Barcelona in 1882.

[2] A. de Humboldt, *Voyage aux Régions Équinoxiales*, II. 305.

is more in it than this; twin children born at the same lying-in cannot belong to the same father. We have here an axiom of the Selwas Indians[1]; and in all zones, in the most diverse states of society, when the people get hold of an axiom, they hold it more tenaciously than wise men who have first ventured to state it. In such cases, to avoid domestic disturbance, the elderly relatives of the mother, or the midwives, undertake the disappearance of one of the twins. Even if the new-born child is not a twin, yet if it has some physical defect, the father promptly kills it. They will have none but strong and well-made children, for the deformities indicate the influence of the bad spirit Ioloquiamo, or of the bird Tikititi, the enemy of the human race.'

Spirit- or Bird-paternity.

So here again we see the contending explanations of the twin phenomenon: the blame on the woman: the possible spirit paternity, or bird-paternity, of disapproved children. It will be seen that we are not very far from the ideas of the Greeks.

This same idea came out in the case which I reported in *Cult*[2] from British Guiana, which gave me the clue to the explanation of the dual paternity of twins. A few sentences may be recalled from Commissioner McTurk's report on the recrudescence of superstition among the Essequibo Indians: 'An Indian woman gave birth to twins: at the time, there was considerable sickness in the neighbourhood, and a pui man (sorcerer, witch-doctor) was called in. He declared the cause of the sickness to be one of the twins, who was the child of a Kenaima, as a woman could not naturally produce two children at a birth. The particular child was sick and fretful, and one night on the cry of an owl or other night bird, the child woke and commenced to cry. The pui man, who was present, declared the cry of the bird to be the

Essequibo Indians.

Spirit-paternity.

[1] These Indians live between the Orinoco and Amazon rivers. So great is her aversion from the thought of being a twin-mother and having to face at once the scorn of the other women who compare her with a mouse, and the jealousy of her husband, who suspects infidelity, that a woman will hurriedly bury her first child when she sees that a second is to be expected. See Le Vaillant, *Voyages à Guyane et Cayenne*.

[2] *Cult of the Heavenly Twins*, pp. 5–7.

Kenaima father of the child calling to it, and the child's crying its answer. The next day at his instigation a large hole was dug in the ground and a fire was built in it, when it was well ablaze the infant was thrown into it and burnt to death.' Later on, the mother shared the same fate, and this accentuation of the recrudescent superstition shows clearly that the original custom was to kill the mother and both children; for there is no possible solution of the problem that perplexes the savage by killing the mother and one child. If the mother goes in the original custom, one may be certain that both children went. That the mother was killed in this particular story is due to a reaction in the cult, which has irregularly returned upon itself.

One child killed and its mother.

The importance of this incident from British Guiana lies in the exposure it makes of the underlying strata of belief. We see the spirit solution, one child the child of a Kenaima, an animistic conception which lends itself to totemistic ideas, but which in British Guiana appears commonly as the external soul of a man or other animal. Then we have the suggested bird parentage, but without any recognition as yet that the bird in question is the thunder; and further we have the belief in the reaction of the twin-birth upon the rest of the community. The ideas run parallel at several points to the observations of v. Humboldt on the causes of defective or irregular children.

The Kenaima parent.

As we are now in British Guiana, it may be noted that Schomburgk in his *Travels in British Guiana* found twin-births rare, and twin-murders amongst the Macusis and the Waikas non-existent. He was, however, quite aware of the common custom elsewhere of sacrificing one child, and apparently so were the natives of whom he speaks, since they give the conventional explanations, that the twin-mother has been unfaithful to her husband, and that the other women would compare her multiple birth with those of the lower animals. Schomburgk attributes the absence of the twin-murder to the general mildness of the character of the Macusis.

British Guiana: twin-births and twin-murders rare.

When he spoke to the women of these tribes about the

fertility of the Paranaghieris, who not uncommonly have twins, and sometimes bear three children at once, they poured scorn upon such women, and maintained that they themselves were not such dogs as to have a heap of children at once[1]. Evidently Schomburgk is here giving the exception which proves the rule. The explanations given of twin-births are the same among those who kill one child and those who do not kill.

Twins in Peru.

Now let us come to the ancient American populations of Peru, where we shall find some evidence of the first importance.

The situation is rapidly summed up for us by Müller in his work on the Original Religions of America[2]. The Peruvians used to honour the lightning under the name of Libiac, and offer to it the choicest sheaves of maize. *Twins, whether of men or llamas, were regarded as the Children of the Lightning.* On the birth of such, a fast was necessary, and a sacrifice to the god Acuchuccacpuc. If the twins died young, their bodies were preserved in large jars. A woman who had borne twins, must confess and undergo penance.

Twins are children of Lightning.

It is evident from this summary, that although twins were not killed, they were detested and their mother disgraced. Expiatory rites were required: but the most interesting feature of all is the parentage of the lightning. Here we have reached the same point as the early Greek and Palestinian civilization; we detected the emergence of this belief in certain African tribes.

Expiatory rites.

We shall do well, in view of the importance which this statement acquires from its biblical and classical parallels, to examine into some of the authorities upon whom Müller relies, and to supplement them where possible.

One of the most valuable books for our purpose is Arriaga's *Extirpation of Idolatry in Peru*, published at Lima in 1621, a book as interesting to the ethnologist as it is rare[3].

[1] Schomburgk, *Reisen in Britisch Guiana*, Leipzig, 1848.
[2] Müller, *Amerikanische Urreligionen*, p. 370.
[3] Arriaga, *Extirpacion de la Idolatria del Piru*, Lima, 1621.

We have already alluded to the Peruvian beliefs as described by Arriaga, in reference to the cult of the thunder: but now we must examine them more closely: and as the book in the original is hard to come at[1], we will transcribe some of the leading passages (p. 32):

Names of Peruvian twins.

Quando nacen dos de un parto, que como diximos arriva llaman Chuchos o Curi, y en el Cuzco Taqui Huahua, lo tienan por cosa sacrilega y abominabile, y aunque dizen, qui el uno es hijo del Rayo, hazen grande penitencia, como si uviessen hecho un gran pecado. Le ordinario es ayunar muchos dias assi el Padre como la Madre, como le refiriò el dotor Francisco de Avila, no comiendo sal, ni agi, ni juntandosse en este tiempo, que en algunas partes suelen sei por seys meses, y otras assi el Padre como la Madre se hechan de un lado cada uno de porsi, y estan cinco dias sin menearse de aquel lado, el un pie encogido, y debaxo de la corba ponen un pallar, o hava, hasta que con el sudor comiença à brotar, y otros cinco dias se buelven del otro lado de la misma manera; y este tempo ayunan al modo dicho. Acabada esta penitencia los parientes caçan un venado, y desollandole, hazen uno como palio del pellejo, y debaxo del pasean a los penitentes, con unas sogillas al cuello, las quales traen despues por muchos dias.

Este mes de Julio passado, en la doctrina de Mangas del Corregiemento de Cojatambo, avia parida una India dos de un parto, y la penitencia que hizo sue estar diez dias de rodillas, y con les manos tambien, en el suelo como quien esta en quattro pies, sin mudar postura en todo esse tiempo para cosa ninguna, y estava tan flaca, y desfigurada de esta penitencia, que hallandole en ella, no se atreviò el Cura a castigalla, porque no peligrasse, y a este modo tendran on otras partes, otras diversas supersticiones en este caso.

One twin a Lightning child.

From the foregoing it appears that when twins are born, they call them Chuchos or Curi, and in el Cuzco they call them Taqui Huahua; twin-birth is regarded as abominable, and *one of the twins is said to be the Son of the Lightning.*

[1] It will be found translated in the Hakluyt Society's series of books of travel.

The importance of this is obvious: we have the missing link in the development between the two natural and the two supernatural children. It is the same variation between single and dual divine children that we detect in Greek literature when Castor and Pollux are both said to be children of Zeus, and when we find out, as in Zeus' indignant protests in Pindar, that it is only Pollux that is entitled to that parentage.

Father and mother of the Peruvian twins have to fast, to abstain from salt and pepper and sexual intercourse; in some districts this abstinence lasts six months. These statements are confirmed by the *Chronicle of Peru* of Pedro de Cieza de Leon (A.D. 1532–50), translated by Clements R. Markham for the Hakluyt Society, and published in 1864. Here we find (p. 232, c. 65) that 'these Indians hold it to be unlucky to bring forth two babes at once, or when a child is born with any natural defect, such as having six fingers on one hand. If these things happen, the man and his wife become sad, and fast, without eating *aji* (Chili pepper), or drinking *chicha*, which is their wine, and they do other things according to their customs, as they have learnt them from their fathers.' To which statement Markham adds a confirming note from Rivero, that 'twins, called *Chuchu*, and children born feet first, called *Chacpa*, were offered up to the huacas' (sanctuaries), in some districts.

Arriaga reports further a recent case of the penance of an Indian woman for bearing twins; she remained in one position, on her hands and knees, for ten days, without moving for all that time; at the end of which time she was, as the narrator says, much disfigured.

Peruvians and the Boanerges.

We have narrated already the fondness of the converts to Christianity for the name of Santiago, or S. Diego, because they understood that *St James* (i.e. Santiago) and St John were called Sons of Thunder, an appellation which was perfectly familiar to them. St James was evidently identified by them with the Thunder, and when they heard the Spaniards fire off their harquebuses, they promptly called these weapons by the name of Santiago. Amongst these

Peruvian tribes, then, the conjunction between twins and thunder or lightning is clearly made out. It should further be noted that *the twin-taboo in Peru affected llamas as well as men.* The parallel to this will be found in ancient India, in modern Wales, and in some parts of South Africa, where the larger cattle are subject to expiatory rites to avert the ill-luck of twinning. Arriaga gives a summary of the twin superstition in an edict against Idolatry, which I transcribe (p. 132, c. 18): Item si saben, que quando alguna muger pare dos de un vientre que llaman Chuchu, o uno creatura de pies, que llaman Chacpa, la dicha muger ayuna ciertos dias por ceremonia gentilica, no comiendo sal, ny agi, ny dormiendo con su marido; encerrandose, y escondiendose en parte secreta, donde non la vea nadie; y si alguna de las dos criaturas se muere la guardan en una olla por ceremonia di su gentilidad. Twinning llamas.

Here again we have the twin children grouped with those born feet first; and the isolation of the woman is definitely stated: also the preservation of a dead twin in a jar, which may be compared with the West African custom of disposing of the body. The dead twin, no doubt, was originally kept from harming its brother in this way. Arriaga, however, thinks the twin was preserved as a sacred thing, on account of its relationship to the Lightning[1].

Now let us come down to the province of Bolivia, where we shall find amongst the Moxos and Chiquitos tribes the same custom of killing twins, apparently in the severer form. D'Orbigny notes[2] that the Moxos people immolate through superstition a woman who miscarries, and her children if they are twins. It is surprising to find such customs amongst people of otherwise gentle manners: they killed twin children, on the supposition that only animals could produce several young at once. Religion has, indeed, Twins in Bolivia.

[1] l.c. pp. 16, 17. 'Los Cuerpos Chuchos, y por otro nombre Curi, que es quando nacen dos de un vientre, si mueren chiquitos, los metẽ en unas ollas, y los guardan dentro de casa, come una cosa sagrada, dizen que el uno es hijo del Rayo.'

[2] Alcide D'Orbigny, *L'homme Américain*, pp. 211, 232, Paris, 1839.

caused the cessation of these superstitious customs, but it must not be supposed that all traces of primitive savage life have disappeared. The reference to religion means the missions of the Jesuit fathers. It may be worth while to hunt up the Jesuit accounts of these Missions. In *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*[1] there is an abridgment of a Spanish account of Padre Cyprian Baraze, the Jesuit founder of the mission to the Moxos tribe, printed at Lima by order of Bishop Urban de Matha. From it we learn that the Moxos 'have the barbarous custom of burying little children when their mother dies; and, *in case the mother brings forth twins, they bury one of them* giving as their reason that the mother cannot very well bring up two children at once.' As we have already suggested, this does not seem to be the real reason, though we frequently come across it. It is an excuse rather than a reason.

The Moxos kill one twin.

A little to the south of the Moxos tribes will be found the Chiriguanos. For these people we have a reference in the account of a journey from Santiago in Chili to Arica in Peru[2]: if a woman in this tribe bears twins, they keep one and sacrifice the other, provided the mother makes no formal objection, which seldom happens. Here we have again the modification (if it really is one) in the treatment of the twins; one only is killed.

The Chiriguanos kill one twin.

There are some reasons for supposing that in the legends of South American peoples we have a recurrence of the theme of a pair of Great Brethren, much in the same way as amongst the Mediterranean people. According to Ehrenreich[3] these brother heroes take a part in the subordinate processes of creation and occupy an intermediate position between God and men. We shall find similar beliefs among the North American Indians, and many points of contact with the ideas of primitive man in the Eastern hemisphere. We shall return to this subject later on.

The Great Brethren in South America.

[1] Vol. VIII. p. 86 (Paris, 1781).

[2] Thouar, *Explorations dans l'Amérique du Sud*, Paris, 1891.

[3] Ehrenreich, *Die Mythen und Legenden der Südamer. Urvölker.* Suppl. zur *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* (Berlin, 1905, p. 44).

Twin beliefs among Brazilian negroes.

Amongst the negro populations of Brazil, we have the survival and modification of beliefs brought with them from the West Coast of Africa. Although they have nominally accepted the Roman Catholic religion, they still build their ancient fetish houses and worship their ancient gods. Their devotion to Shango, the thunder-god of the Yoruba negroes, is very marked: but in the very same huts they erect images of Cosmas and Damian, and tables for casting lots. As Cosmas and Damian are one of the many ecclesiastical substitutes for the ineradicable worship of the Heavenly Twins, we conjecture naturally that they have replaced twins attached in some way to Shango. The evidence has not, however, been yet forthcoming that twins or their totems or their images are in this way connected with Shango. That Shango is still there in Brazil is certain; that twins are a part of the cult of Brazilian negroes is possible. For the description of the customs of these people, we may consult the article of l'Abbé Ignace to which we have already referred in the chapter on *The Red Robes of the Dioscuri*[1].

Shango honoured with Cosmas and Damian.

[1] *Anthropos* for 1908: pp. 886 sqq.

CHAPTER X

THE TWIN-CULT AMONGST THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS

Beliefs of Amerinds.

We shall now turn to the beliefs of the North American Indians on the subject of twins, and we shall find an abundance of parallels with customs noted in other countries and amongst other peoples, including traces of the connection of twins with the sky and the thunder, and of their usefulness in hunting and fishing.

Cali-fornia.

One child killed.

Traces of twin-murder may be found among the Indian tribes in California. For example, the Pitt River Indians practise the killing of one child. S. Powers[1] says that 'in case of the birth of twins one is almost always destroyed, for the feeling is universal that two little mouths at once are too great a burden. Infanticide seems to prevail in no other instance than this.' He also tells us (p. 354) concerning the Miwok Indians, who formerly occupied territory that extended from the Sierra Nevada to the San Joaquin River, and from the Cosumnes to the Fresno, that 'mention is made of a woman named Ha-u-chi-ah,' living near Murphy's, who, in 1858 gave birth to twins, and destroyed one of them, according to the universal custom. We shall find closer Dioscuric parallels as we move further north.

Tsimshian Indians.

For instance, Dr Franz Boas, in his *Report to the British Association on the Indians of British Columbia*[2] tells us of the Tsimshian Indians that 'while the religion of the Tlingit and Haida Indians seems to be a nature worship, founded on the general idea of the animation of natural objects, no object obtaining a prominent place, that of the Tsimshian is a pure worship of Heaven (Leqa). Heaven is a great

[1] S. Powers, *Tribes of California*, Washington, 1877, p. 271.

[2] *Proceedings of British Association*, 1889, p. 845.

deity, who has a number of mediators named Neqnoq[1]. Now let us see what the Tsimshian say about twins[2]. '*Twins are believed to control the weather; therefore they pray to wind and rain, Calm down, breath of the twins.* Whatever twins wish for is fulfilled, therefore they are feared, as *they can harm the man whom they hate. They can call the olachen and the salmon* and are therefore called Sewihan, = making plentiful.' This is thoroughly Dioscuric, at all events. Not very unlike these beliefs are those of the Kwakiutl[3]: they believed that '*twins were transformed salmon*: as children of salmon they are guarded against going near the water, as it is believed that they would be retransformed into salmon. *While children, they are able to summon any* wind by motions of their hands, *and can make fair or bad weather. They have the power of curing diseases, and use for this purpose a rattle* called K'oaquaten, which has the shape of a flat box about three feet long by two feet wide.' Again we are on the parallel line to the Dioscuri; the control of the weather is in evidence, and the curing of diseases. Note should be made of the rattle. It will turn up again in Indian circles, and may be related to the famous Australian-Greek rhombus or bull-roarer.

Twins control weather and bring fish.

Kwakiutl believe twins are salmon.

They control weather.

For a more extended account of the Kwakiutl Indians, see Franz Boas and George Hunt, *Kwakiutl Texts*, II. pp. 322—330[4]. 'In the opinion of the Kwakiutl twins are nothing but salmon who have assumed human shape, and in that guise can bring plenty of their finny brothers and sisters to the fisherman's net. Well, once upon a time there was a chief called Chief-of-the-Ancients. There was no river where he lived, and therefore necessarily no salmon. This troubled the chief, so one day he said to his younger brothers, "I wish

Story of twin that brought fish.

[1] The Tsimshian inhabit Nass and Skeena rivers and the adjacent islands. The Tlingit inhabit Southern Alaska. The Haida inhabit Queen Charlotte islands and part of Prince of Wales Archipelago.

[2] l.c. p. 847.

[3] The Kwakiutl Indians inhabit the coast from Gardiner channel to Cape Mudge, with the sole exceptions of the country around Dean inlet, and the West Coast of Vancouver Island.

[4] *Jesup N. Pacific Expedition*, Memoir of American Museum of Natural History, quoted by Frazer in *Totemism and Exogamy*, III. 337.

to look for one who is a twin and make her my wife that through her the salmon may come." His aunt, the star-woman, bade him go to the graves and search among them for a twin. So he went to the graves, and cried out, "Is there a twin here, O graves?" But the graves said, "There is none here." This he did to many graves. But at last one of the graves answered "I am a twin." The Chief-of-the-Ancients went to it, and gathered the bones and sprinkled them with the water of life, and the twin-woman at once came to life.' The account goes on to tell *how the twin-lady brought the salmon.* The motive of the tale is clearly the control of twins over fishing, and their power to bring good luck.

The Skgomic Indians.

In the *Report of the British Association for 1900*, we have a paper by C. Hill-Tout on another tribe of Indians in British Columbia, the Skgomic[1], which brings up some further folk-lore beliefs of great interest. 'The birth of twins was a very special event, *twins always possessing, as was believed, supernormal powers, the commonest of which was control of the wind.* It would seem that *the birth of twins was usually presaged by dreams* on the part of both parents. In those dreams minute instructions would be given to the parents as to the course they must pursue in the care and upbringing of the children. These they must follow implicitly in every particular. If they were neglected, it was thought and believed that the twins would die.... Immediately after the birth of twins, both husband and wife must bathe in cold water, using the tips of spruce, fir, and cedar branches to scrub themselves with. *After this they must remain in seclusion apart from the rest of the tribe for a month.* Any breach of this rule was regarded as a grave offence which was bound to bring severe punishment on the offenders. The hair of twins was supposed never to be cut. If for any reason this rule was departed from, great care had to be taken to bury all that had been cut off....*If at any time wind was desired for sailing, the bodies of the twins would be rubbed with oil or grease,* after which, it is said, the

Twins control weather.

Isolation of twin-parents.

[1] l.c. p. 481.

wind would immediately rise. The *tsaianuk*, a kind of small fish which I was unable to identify, and which periodically visits the Skgomic river in large numbers, are said to be descended from a pair of twins[1].'

Now let us turn to the Shuswap Indians, concerning whom we have an excellent account by J. Teit[2].

Shuswap Indians.

'Twins were considered great "mystery," and the regulations concerning them were much the same as amongst the Thompson Indians[3]. The woman's husband was the real father of twins; but the foetus was divided, and became two creations through the influence of the black bear, grisly bear, or deer. The mother was frequently visited by one of these animals in her dreams, or she repeatedly dreamed of their young, and thus she had twins. Whichever animal she dreamed about became their protector for life, the manitou, of her children. A woman was considered lucky to have twins, for she thus gained powerful manitous for her children, before their birth. *Twins who had the deer for their protectors were always successful in hunting:* in like manner, those who had the grisly bear for protector could always find bears and kill them easily. The bear never became angry or tried to hurt them. Most twins were under the protection of the black bear. A good many had the grisly bear

Bear or deer parentage?

Twins helpful in hunting.

[1] This comes from a curious folk-tale, given in the same report (p. 523), concerning a man, the father of twins, who collected all the fish that frequented the above-mentioned river, and placed them in a box in separate compartments, which box he placed in the trunk of a tree. Soon after this he died, and from that time no more fish came into the river, until a man, by supernatural revelation, discovered the box, and put the dust of the contained fish into the river. This made the wind blow and the fish come, especially a new kind, the *tsaianuk*. Since then the people always put a little bone dust in the river, and always have plenty of fish. The Skgomic regard these particular fish as the descendants of twin children of the man who originally hid away the fish-bones; and according to them, it was the power of the twins that made the wind blow, when the bone-dust was disturbed.

For our purpose, the chief points to be noted are just these, the control of the weather and of the fish by twins, which is assumed in the story.

[2] *The Shuswap: Memoir of the American Museum of Natural History*, New York. (The Jesup North Pacific Expedition, vol. II. p. vii. 1909; pp. 586 sqq.)

[3] *Vide infra*, pp. 146, 147.

Parents isolated.

for protector, and a lesser number the deer....*On the birth of twins, the parents shifted camp to the woods, some distance away from other people, even if it were midwinter.* Twins were not carried round so much as other children, one of the parents generally remaining at home with them....*Twins were not allowed near people for four years.* During this time the father washed them with fir-branches every day. If the father happened to die, the mother washed them. Young men were not employed for this purpose, at least among the Western Shuswap. *Twins were believed to be endowed with power over the elements,* especially over rain and snow. If a twin bathed in a lake or stream, it would rain....The next child born after twins was also considered "mystery," for some of the influences which controlled the twins still remained in the womb of the mother. For this reason the next child was kept apart, and washed with fir-branches, in the manner of twins, for a year or less....*Twins* (p. 609) *were considered very lucky guardians for gamblers.*'

The twins control weather,

and bring good-luck.

The taboo on twins shows itself very clearly in these regulations for the isolation of the parents and children; we note again their control of the weather, their influence in the chase, and their general good luck. All of these points must be carefully registered.

Thompson Indians.

We come now to the Thompson Indians of British Columbia, to whom reference was just now made[1].

'A woman about to be delivered of twins was generally made aware of the fact beforehand by the repeated appearance of the grisly bear in her dreams: therefore twins were regarded as different from other children, and were treated accordingly. They were called "grisly-bear children," or "hairy feet." Immediately after their birth, the father put on a head-band and went outside, walking round the house in a circle, striking the ground with a fir-bough, and singing the grisly bear song. These children were supposed to be under special protection of the grisly bear and were endowed by him with special powers. Amongst these was *the power*

[1] Teit, *The Thompson Indians of British Columbia*, p. 310. (Jesup North Pacific Expedition, vol. I. 1898—1900.)

of creating good or bad weather. Twins were supposed to be unable to see a grisly bear. *The grisly was not looked upon as the real father of the twins, but only as their protector.* When twins were born, if it were possible, a young man was selected by the father to sing when they first cried....Such a person was thought to become proficient in the mystery of the grisly bear, and obtained him for his guardian spirit....*He painted his whole face red,* and carried a fir-branch in each hand. If the twins were male and female, he held a male fir-branch in the right hand, and a female fir-branch in the left. As soon as the children began to cry, he went round them, following the sun's course, at the same time singing the grisly bear song, and striking the children with the branches....*The parents, during the ceremony had their faces painted red.* The grisly-bear painting was a picture of a bear's paw in red on each cheek. *The impression of a man's hand in red was used to represent a bear in facial paintings....*The singer sometimes staid with the twins during the entire period of separation, and took them under his special care, washing them and singing to them....The mother always took care to suckle the elder first. If she should not do this, one of the twins would die. *After the birth of twins the parents moved some distance away from other people, and lived in a lodge made of fir-boughs and bark, and continued to live there until the children were about four years of age....*A male passing by a lodge in which twin children resided always whistled. When wishing to see some of the inmates, he called them by whistling from a distance, but he did not enter.'

Twins control weather: have bear for patron.

Parents painted red.

Parents tabooed for four years.

Closely related to these customs are those of the Lillooet Indians, on the Lower Lillooet River, in British Columbia[1].

'The beliefs of the Lillooet regarding twins differed somewhat from those of the Thompson people. *Twins were considered the real offspring of the grisly bear.* Many say the grisly bear pitied the woman and made these children grow in her womb. *The husband of the woman was not the*

Lillooet Indians.

Bear parentage.

[1] Teit, *The Lillooet Indians*, p. 263.

real father of twins, though some believed that the grisly bear had acted through him. When twins were born, the husband went outside and walked round in a circle, following the sun's course. He struck the ground with a fir-branch as he went round, and sang the grisly bear song. *The parents of twins built a lodge apart from the people, in which they lived until the children were about four years old.* The longer they kept the children away from the people the better was their chance of life....The mother always suckled the eldest child first. When the father visited people during the period of isolation, he had to change his clothes before going home again. If possible a young man was hired to attend to the children, during the whole period of isolation....*He wore no particular dress, nor did he paint in any particular manner.* When the family returned again to live with the people...the lodge in which they had lived was left standing till it fell down. It was never burned, for that would cause the children to die. *When one of twins died*, whether infant or adult, *the body was never buried.* It was tied up and deposited rather high up in a bushy fir-tree, and the grisly bear was supposed to take it away. Many Indians say that twins were grisly bears in human form, and that when a twin died, his soul went back to the grisly bears and became one of them.'

Parents tabooed for four years.

When we compare the Lillooet customs with those of the Thompson Indians, we see close agreement crossed by some striking diversities. The grisly bear is more prominent in the Lillooet story, and is very nearly the father of the twins. The young man in the Thompson story paints his face red, but not in the Lillooet story. This painting the face red, however, is significant: it is the colour proper to the thunder, as was seen more clearly in a previous chapter. And when the young man paints his face red, the explanation of that feature of the cult would naturally be that he is pretending to be the thunder (man or bird) just as the Roman General in a triumph is painted red to imitate Jupiter Capitolinus, and Jupiter himself painted red because he is the thunder. There seems, however, to be no

Parents represent Thunder.

room for the Thunder as parent in these Indian legends; the grisly bear is the prominent actor, and, if we like, the second parent. But where is there any connection between the grisly bear and the thunder? It appears to be a totem by itself.

Indians of Nootka Sound.

Now let us go back to a little earlier period than that described by the investigators of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition. In the year 1824, John R. Jewett published at Edinburgh, an account of his *Adventures and Sufferings during a captivity of nearly three years among the savages of Nootka Sound.* He reports intelligently enough what he noticed during that enforced sojourn, just outside Vancouver Island. 'On the birth of twins, they have a most singular custom, which, I presume, has its origin in some religious opinion; but what it was I could never satisfactorily learn. The father is prohibited for the space of two years from eating any kind of meat, or fresh fish, during which time he does no kind of labour whatever, being supplied with what he has occasion for from the tribe.

Taboos on diet of parent.

'In the meantime *he and his wife*, who is also obliged to conform to the same abstinence, *with their children, live entirely separate from the others, a small hut being built for their accommodation;* and he is never invited to any of the feasts, except such as consist wholly of dried provisions, where he is treated with great respect, and seated among the chiefs, though no more himself than a private individual. Such births are very rare among them. An instance of the kind, however, occurred while I was at Tashees the last time; but it was the only one known since the reign of a former king. The father always appeared very thoughtful and gloomy, never associated with the other inhabitants, and was at none of their feasts, but such as were entirely of dried provisions, and of this he did not eat to excess, and constantly retired before the amusements commenced. His dress was very plain, and *he wore round his head a red fillet of bark*, the symbol of mourning and devotion. It was his daily practice to repair to the mountain, *with a chief's rattle in his hand*, to sing and

Isolation of parents.

Father wears thunder-band.

pray. As Maquina informed me, *for the fish to come into their waters.* When not thus employed, he kept continually at home, except when sent for to sing and perform his ceremonies over the sick, being considered a sacred character, one much in favour with their gods.'

In this story, the grisly bear does not appear, but we recognise the rattle of the Tsimshian Indians, the influence of the twins (and their parents) over the coming of the fish and the expulsion of diseases. The red fillet must also be noticed, it must surely be a thunder symbol.

Manitoba Indians.

Amongst the Indians of Western Canada, we find traces of an original alarm at the birth of twins. For instance, Maclean in his work on the *Canadian Savage Folk*[1] tells us of his intercourse with Indians of the Blackfeet tribe. 'Visiting a lodge one day, I saw the father and one of the wives with a gruesome countenance, and upon enquiring the cause was shown twin-children in their beautiful moss-bags. Twins are believed to be an omen of evil; hence the sad countenance of my friends.'

Twins disliked.

On another occasion he tells us[2] that 'while thus beguiling the time, a faint cry was emitted from a tiny bundle close at hand, and a young woman, with a rueful countenance, turned round to wait upon her babe. We had known her as a young woman of a very lively disposition, and were unable to account for the sudden change in her deportment: but we were not long left in mystery, for as we watched her tending her charge, a smile flitted over her face when a second parcel moved, and emitted a sound similar to that of the first. Ah! here was the secret of the sad countenance. An evil had befallen them in the shape of twins. What evil genius was presiding over their camp? Or why should the gods thus send sorrow upon then? "Boys?" "No! worse than that: a thousandfold worse than twin-boys. Twins! Girls!" The father morosely gazed upon the tiny strangers who were unwelcome guests in that home, and not a merry heart was there in that lodge.' So

[1] p. 54.

[2] *Ib.* p. 191.

the old twin-superstition still lingers amongst the Indians of Western Canada.

Iroquois story of the Great Twins still extant.

Maclean also tells us that the Indians still believe the story which the Iroquois told to the first Jesuit missionaries, of a pair of celestial twins sent down by a celestial twin-mother, whose names were Juskeha and Tawiskara. It is not necessary to repeat here the story of their deeds, nor to tell how one of the brethren found his way back again to the heaven from which he had come[1].

[1] It is, however, very interesting to note how Brébeuf, who first drew attention to this pair of heavenly twins (*Relation des Jésuites dans la Nouvelle France*, 1635, p. 34; 1636, p. 100), remarked on the way the twins quarrelled. 'Judge,' said he, 'if there be not in this a touch of the death of Abel!'

CHAPTER XI

OF TWINS IN ANCIENT MEXICO

Twins in Mexico.

In order to find out whether there are any traces of twin-cult in Mexico in ancient times, we must in the first instance turn to the Spanish writers on Mexican antiquities. In Torquemada's account of the *Ancient Indian Monarchy*, we find[1] as follows: 'They hold it for axiomatic that, when a woman brings forth two children at one birth (which often happens in these parts), either the father or the mother must die. And the remedy, which the devil gave them for this was, that they should slaughter one of the twins, which in their tongue are called Cocolina, which means snakes. Further they say that the first woman who bore twins was called Cohuatl, which signifies snake, and this is why they called the twins by the name of snakes; and they said that they would eat up the father or the mother if they did not slaughter one of the two children[2].'

One twin killed.

First twin mother.

Fray Toribio (Motolinia)[3] tells us as follows with regard to the ancient Mexican belief on the matter of twins: 'Tenian tambien en que la mujer que parien dos de un vientre, lo cual en esta tierra acontece muchas veces, que el padre é la madre de los tales habia de morir; y el remedio que el cruel demonio las daba, era que mataban uno de los gemellos, y con esta creian que no morira el padre ni la madre, y muchas veces lo hacian.'

Twins endanger their parents.

According to this, the arrival of twins is a positive danger to the father and mother, an opinion of which we have found

[1] Torquemada, *De la Monarq. Indian*, II. p. 84.

[2] See also Müller, *Amerikanische Urreligionen*, p. 514. 'Am Anfang dieser Periode bevölkerte die Schlangenfrau Cihuatcohuatl oder Quetuzli die Erde. Sie gebar jedesmal Zwillinge.'

[3] In Icazbalceta, *Coleccion de Documentos para la Historia de Mexico*, I. 130.

traces elsewhere: for this reason, and to divert the danger, one of the twins is commonly sacrificed.

We should not have been in the least surprised to hear that the Mexicans had killed every one involved in the twin affair, for their ritual is about as savage as anything that ever appeared on the planet. It will be noticed that the two writers quoted are not altogether independent; the testimony is sufficient to establish the fact of twin-murder, which is what we first want to know.

The next question would be whether the Mexicans, like the ancient Peruvians, believed that one of the twins was a child of the thunder (or perhaps both)—on this point I do not think I have any evidence.

There is, however, a very curious theory propounded by the Spanish writers on Mexican antiquities, that the Mexican god Quetzalcoatl was himself a heavenly twin, to which they add the explanation that he was really the Apostle Thomas, who included the Mexicans amongst his extensive missionary journeys. They base this belief on a philological equation between Quetzalcoatl and Didymus! It is hardly necessary to say anything on such speculations, but it would be interesting to know whether there is any authority for translating Quetzalcoatl as *precious twin*: and whether he was a twin-god. As I am unacquainted with Mexican, and have little confidence in Mexican philologists, I cannot explain the name, and as far as I have gone have not yet seen reason for believing the god in question to be a twin[1]. For those who are interested in the matter here is some of the evidence.

Mexican twin-god?

Rivero, *Antigüedades Peruanas*, tr. by Hawks, p. 15: 'We cannot do less than remark here on the opinions of many learned men, who think that the Toltecan god, Quetzalcoatl, is identical with the Apostle Thomas, and it is observable that the surname of this Apostle Didymus (twin) has the same signification in Greek that Quetzalcoatl has in Mexican. It is astonishing, also, to consider the numerous and extensive regions traversed by this Apostle.' (!) He is quoting from Pablo Felix, of Guatemala, whose *Teatro*

Identified with Apostle Thomas!

[1] Ehrenreich takes the opposite view: *v. inf.* p. 158.

Critico Americano will be found at the end of Del Rio's *Description of the Ruins of an ancient city* (London, 1822), p. 93: 'Doctor Liguenza believes that Quetzalcoatl was the Apostle Thomas...he drew a comparison between the name which St Thomas bore, viz. Didymus, signifying twin, and Quetzalcoatl, compounded of the words Quetzalli, a precious stone, and Coatl, twin, a precious twin.'

Perhaps that will be enough on St Thomas and his Mexican travels.

According to Mr Lewis Spence[1], 'the most unique of all the gods of Mexico was Quetzalcoatl. This name indicates "Feathered Serpent."...He was a culture-god, and was closely connected with the sun.' Ehrenreich thinks that Quetzalcoatl and Tezcatlipoca are a pair of heroes, between whom there subsists a constant quarrel. This, at all events, is in the manner of Twin-cult, even if philology should not countenance the hypothesis that the first of the pair was a precious twin.

[1] *Mythologies of Ancient Mexico and Peru*, pp. 18, 19.

CHAPTER XII

THE TWIN-HEROES OF NORTH AND SOUTH AMERICA

We discussed in a previous chapter the traces that could be found of the practice of twin-murder among the aboriginal tribes of South America. Here the greatest discovery was that the ancient Peruvians regarded one of a pair of twin-children as being a Son of the Lightning. The information came in the first instance from Arriaga; and, I suppose, it is the rarity of Arriaga's work that is responsible for the omission of any reference to this Peruvian belief in Ehrenreich's very valuable work on the Myths and Legends of the South American aborigines. The omission is the more to be regretted because the recognition of the Peruvian parallel to the Boanerges would have assisted Ehrenreich in his proof that many of the legends which he was discussing were migrations (i) from the Northern Pacific to the Southern, and (ii) from Asia or Europe to America. If, however, Ehrenreich failed to detect the Peruvian myth and its meaning, and, apparently, failed also to see the original cause of Twin-cults, he made up for his deficiency by an excellent statement as to the cult of Twin-Heroes all over North and South America: and to this question we now propose to address ourselves.

South American Indians have a fire-bird, but no thunder-bird?

It may be as well to make one or two preliminary statements with regard to South American beliefs concerning thunder. It seems clear that they had a Fire-bird, and equally clear that they had not a Thunder-bird, in the same sense and frequency as we find the Thunder represented by North American Indians. Ehrenreich says positively that the Thunder-bird is not known in South America[1]. The Fire-bird

[1] Ehrenreich, l.c. 'Eine in Südamerika gänzlich fehlende Gestalt ist der in Norden so bedeutsame Donnervogel.'

is said to be the Hacka-hen (*Galictis Barbara*) recognised for its function by its red bill. Amongst the Tupi Indians, on the other hand, the fire is said to have been extracted by the Twin-Brethren from the back of the sloth[1]. When, however, we make our search for the animate representative of the Thunder, we find to our surprise that the regularity of the rain-fall and of the rainy seasons has, for the most part, put the Thunder out of account, except in such cases as that of the Peruvian tribes noted above. We thus find ourselves very nearly in the same position as we shall presently be in when we study the folk-lore of Ancient Egypt, where there is no Thunder-bird because there is no thunder, and in either case we naturally expect that the Thunder-bird, who is the parent of Twins, will be replaced by a Sky-bird or a Solar-bird: the bright sky of Zeus or the Sun-god Ra replacing the dark sky of the Thunder.

South American religion solar, not tonitrual.

Now this is one of the significant points in the South American cults: the worship is solar rather than tonitrual, and the Great Twin-Brethren are the children of the Sky and of the Sun, and may, on account of their kinship, actually be identified with the Sun or with the Sun and Moon. In South America, as Ehrenreich says, religion acquires a strongly-marked solar character: and he affirms that amongst the Eastern Tupi-Indians, where a Thunder and Lightning god has been detected, the deity in question has arisen out of missionary teaching[2]. In the same way, Pillan, the Thunder-god of the Araucanians is, in reality, the denizen of a still active volcano, and so not a Sky-god at all. These points should be carefully noted as explaining why South American beliefs should differ so fundamentally from those of the North American Indians, with which we shall see reason to believe them to be intimately connected. The difference lies in the weather characteristics of the north and south; it disappears as soon as we recognise that both the Northern and Southern continents have for their leading religious motive a belief in Twin-Heroes, occurring under many forms, and so frequently reminiscent of the culture of

[1] Ehrenreich, l.c. p. 16. [2] l.c. p. 21.

the Eastern hemisphere, that we shall not be able to detach South America from North America, nor both of them from the religions of Asia and Europe.

It will be convenient to make a brief summary of some of these pairs of heroes, and then to point out peculiarities in their traditional histories which require comment. Twin-heroes in South America.

Amongst the Yunkas of Peru, we have Pachakamak and Wichama;
amongst the Guamachucos, Apocatequil and Piguerao;
amongst the Tupi, Tamendonaré and Arikuté;
amongst the Mundruku, Karu and Rairu;
amongst the Yurakaré, Tiri and Karu;
amongst the Arowak-Caribs, Keri and Kame;
amongst the Guarayo, two nameless heroes who change themselves into Sun and Moon;
amongst the Orinoco-Giraro, two brother-gods[1].

These pairs of Great Brethren are commonly described as twins, sprung from the same mother, but from two different fathers; and they usually reckon their descent from the Sun, so that the situation is exactly that which arises in the interpretation of the perplexing phenomenon of twin-children, where a dual paternity is the solution, the second parent being Sky or Thunder or a bird which animistically represents the Sky or the Thunder. It thus becomes clear that the Great Brethren of the South American Indians are the results of an evolution of ideas exactly like that which, from a primitive twin-taboo, produced Romulus and Remus or the Spartan Dioscuri: and it is clear that we cannot detach these South American twins from the pairs that turn up in the legends of the Northern Americans. Thus we shall have to add to our cycle of heroes the cases of:

Juskeha and Tawiskara among the Iroquois; Twin-heroes in North America.
Menabozho and Chokanipok among the Algonquins;
Ahaiyuta and Matsailema among the Zuni;
Tobadizini and Nayenezkani among the Navaho;
Pemsanto and Onkoito among the Maidu of California;

[1] See Ehrenreich, l.c. p. 45.

Kanigyilak and Nemokois among the Kwakiutl;
Masmasalaniḥ and Noakaua among the Awikeno.

To these parallels from the North American Indians, Ehrenreich suggests that the Mexican gods Quetzalcoatl and Tezcatlipoca may be added, and amongst the Mayas the subterranean gods Hun-hun-ahpu and Vukub-hun-ahpu. Nor can we be surprised that a claim should be made that these groups of twin-heroes belong to the same class as the Indian Açvinau, the Greek Dioscuri, and their Slavonic, German and Celtic parallels[1].

Nexus between Northern and Southern legends, and between Asiatic and American myths.

We are thus obliged to admit that there is an internal nexus between these legends of Twin-Brethren: either they are migrant traditions from an original centre, or they are independent evolutions, such as might be expected from advancing civilization; nor is it impossible that both of these explanations may have to be resorted to. What seems to be certainly established by Ehrenreich's researches is the existence of definite themes in the stories of the twin-heroes which must be referred, on account of their singularity, to a common origin. For example, what are we to say, when the myth of the Twin-Brethren takes the form of birth from an egg? Amongst the Guamachucos of Peru, the Solar twins Apocatequil and Piguerao are born from two eggs, deposited by the mother at the time of her death. Is this a reminiscence of bird-parentage? In that case, is the birth of Castor and Pollux from an egg to be credited to the same cycle? We are further told that Apocatequil, for his brave deeds, was regarded as the maker of thunder and lightning, and that the thunderbolts were his children. These thunderbolts were employed to secure fertility and to avert lightning. The parallels with the beliefs of the Eastern hemisphere are obvious[2].

Egg-birth.

Twins liberate their sister.

Amongst the Indians of N. W. America we find stories of Twin-Brethren who go up to heaven in order to set free the daughter of the Sky. Is this any other story than that of

[1] Ehrenreich, l.c. pp. 45, 46.

[2] For a summary of the story of the Peruvian Heavenly Twins, see Additional Notes at the end of volume.

the Greek Dioscuri liberating Helena? Or of the Twin-Brethren in the Lettish folk-songs?

Twins quarrel.

Ehrenreich points out that one of the most widely diffused characteristics of the American Twin-Brethren, is that they quarrel among themselves, so that one kills the other, or else they separate and go opposite ways, east and west, or up and down, apparently in quest of the Sun in his journey beneath the earth. Is this any other story than what we already have noted for Romulus and Remus, Esau and Jacob and the rest? The opposition between the brethren is emphasized by the characteristics assigned to them, one of whom is rough and impetuous, and the other smooth and gentle. Is this anything different in the evolution of legend from what is told of Zethus and Amphion, or again of Esau and Jacob?[1]

Are rough and smooth.

They go East through the Symplegades.

But perhaps the most striking of all the contacts between the legends of the Eastern and Western hemispheres is one which Ehrenreich points out among the Tupi Indians, who say that the Twin-Brethren go out to the East in search of their wandering father, and when they find him, have to prove their kinship by marvels of prowess or of skill. Amongst these feats is the passing through a pair of clashing rocks, which at once recall the Symplegades in the story of the Argonauts; and since the wandering father is almost certainly the Sun, the suggestion arises that the Argonaut story has both twin and solar elements in it, and that Jason is a solar twin, if not the Morning Star himself.

Argonaut story has twin and solar elements.

It is the recurrence of these and similar motives in the various legends and mythologies that makes one so strongly convinced that both the eastern and the western forms have a common origin, very far back in the history of the human race. That the motive of the Symplegades should have been arrived at independently in Greece and in Peru, does not seem very likely.

Now let us return to the geographical study of the diffusion of the twin-taboo.

[1] Ehrenreich, l.c. p. 51.

CHAPTER XIII

TRACES OF TWIN-CULT IN SAGHALIEN, NORTHERN JAPAN, AND THE KURILE ISLANDS

We will now cross Behring's Straits, and make our first enquiries into the existence of the twin-cult in Northern Asia, beginning with those elementary civilizations which are found in the islands off Kamschatka, and in the northern parts of Japan.

Twin-cult in Saghalien.

In *Anthropos* for July-August 1910[1] we have an article by Bronislaw Pilsudski on *Birth Customs in the Island of Saghalien.*

The tribes discussed are the Giljakē and the Ainu; the latter are already well known as occupying the northern part of Japan, where they are gradually dying out before the more advanced civilization of the Japanese. They are a very interesting people, and a group of them, who were brought over to a recent Japanese exhibition in London, attracted great attention.

The Giljakē.

The Giljakē are convinced that, in the case of twins, one of the twins is the son of a mountain and forest-god whom they call Mountain-man. This deity has great power over the Giljakē and so the child must be restored to its spirit father as soon as possible. As they do not know which of the two it is, they treat them both alike. Here we have the

Spirit paternity.

dual paternity, and the introduction of the spirit-father; the description is not quite clear; to send the child to its father should naturally mean, as in British Guiana, its

Both twins killed?

sacrifice; but the writer does not say this, nor does he say that they kill them both.

When a twin dies among the Giljakē, it is buried, and not burnt, as is the usual custom.

[1] pp. 756—74.

Twins who live and grow up are considered dangerous: but especially a dead twin is feared; perhaps, as in the Niger region, because it might return and injure its brother or the family. One way of getting rid of the danger of a returning twin is to make a little model house for it, and place in the house an image to represent the twin. This is something like the W. African custom of conjuring the dead twin into an image. This image in the Giljakē custom has to be fed every day.

Dead twin dangerous.

In the case of the Saghalien Ainu, the customs are different, but the beliefs are much the same. One of the children is considered of diabolic origin, because a man, in their opinion, can only fertilize one child. The writer came across no cases of twin-murder, but he quotes a Russian traveller Krascheninnikov of the beginning of the nineteenth century to the effect that the custom of killing one twin was current in the Kurile islands. Pilsudski shows reason for believing that the same custom once prevailed amongst the Ainu.

The Saghalien Ainu.

One twin killed in the Kurile islands.

The Saghalien Ainu say that when a twin dies, it is the one that had a spirit father, presumably because that is the one that ought to die.

They carefully conceal the fact that twins are in the community, apparently because it is a dishonour to the family as well as a public danger.

Twins a public danger.

The writer also reports cases of a concurrence of Ainu beliefs with those of the Japanese, that when twins are born, one of them is strong, brave and lucky; the other is an average human being. This differentiation between the twins has its parallel in the cases of Herakles and Iphikles, and to some extent of Zethus and Amphion. I do not know what is the authority for the Japanese opinion, but Pilsudski appears to be a careful observer.

Twins of opposite temper.

In the northern villages of Saghalien, the Ainu make offerings at the birth of twins: the shaven sticks which they call *inao* are fastened over the mother's bed: and two little images to represent the twins are fastened to

Ainu make offerings at twin-births.

the wall. They have also talismans to prevent the return of twins to the world. This last statement suggests a custom of accelerating twins out of the world.

These uncivilized races deserve careful attention, not only because they are uncivilized, and so disclose to us the ideas and emotions of primitive man, but because they lie on the bridge between Asia and America, or near it, and may, therefore, help us to connect the North American Indians with the Asiatic and European populations. In the case of the Ainu, who are a migration from the mainland of Asia to the islands, we have an Asiatic people to deal with, who may be more closely related to peoples farther west than is commonly imagined.

The great authority for the Ainu of Japan is that devoted missionary, Mr Batchelor, who has given his life to their uplifting. It is, however, to be noted that Mr Batchelor sometimes reduces what might be thought the indecencies of the native customs, in order to make the accounts more palatable to the readers of the publications of the Religious Tract Society, a proceeding which is no doubt quite proper, but one that may sometimes obscure the meaning of a custom or tradition.

Ainu have twin (?) weather-gods.

Batchelor does not appear to throw any light on the twin-cult; he does, however, draw attention to a pair of Ainu deities or demigods, who behave very much like promoted and idealised twins. They are said to be brothers, and 'their names are *Shi-acha*, the elder, and *Mo-acha*, the younger. *Shi-acha* means "the rough" or "wild uncle," as he is supposed to be of a very evil disposition, and to be continually pursuing and persecuting his younger brother, *Mo-acha*. *Mo-acha* means "uncle of peace." This one, being of a benevolent and kindly character, and of a quiet disposition, does all he can to live in peace and benefit the Ainu race[1].' *Shi-acha* raises storms and drives his brother away; *Mo-acha* makes calm weather, so that the Ainu can fish. Some Ainu think they are the same god.

[1] Batchelor, *The Ainu and their folk-lore*, p. 536.

It is possible that this tale of the quarrelsome brothers may be of the same type that we find in the West, Romulus and Remus, Esau and Jacob, and the like. There is, however, no intimation in Mr Batchelor's account that they are twins: they appear as weather-gods.

When we cross to the mainland, we strike the twin-cult again, with a striking parallel to the story of Romulus and Remus.

Twins in Kamschatka.

In a description of Kamschatka, published in Germany in 1774[1], we are told that if a woman bears twins, the wolf is at the bottom of the business, and is, in some mysterious way, the parent of the twins; to bear twins is, consequently, a sin. The same writer tells us[2] that amongst the Itälmens they make out of grass an image to represent a wolf and that they keep this all the year long, pretending that it is the husband of the Itälmen girls; it is, however, prohibited that the girls should bring forth twins: that would be a grievous disaster, for which they hold the wolf in the forest responsible. If such a birth occurred they would promptly run out of the house; if the twins were girls the case is so much the worse. It is clear that here again we have the twin-fear. Curiously the same people carve and set up an image in human form, to represent the Thunder, and make offerings to it. It is not the Thunder, however, that is the parent of twins, but the wolf. And while we note the coincidence in the intrusion of the wolf in the folk-lores, respectively, of Kamschatka and Rome, we must not lose sight of the differences between the traditions. The Roman wolf is the *foster-mother* of the twins, and not the *father*. This may be a Roman perversion of an original wolf in the story, for the woodpecker, who also assists in bringing up Romulus and Remus, stands for the Thunder, and is the second male parent: but it is also possible that the two wolves are not really parallel at all.

Wolf parentage.

Thunder-image.

[1] Steller, *Beschreibung von dem Lande Kamschatken*, p. 117 (Frankfurt und Leipzig, 1774).

[2] pp. 327 sqq.

Twins dangerous.

The Kamschatkan evidence is clear that twins are a danger, and that they are due to a second parent, perhaps an animal totem.

Leaving on one side the cases of the Japanese and Chinese civilizations, where twin-cult has to be sought either in history or in customs that survive from a distant past, we may now examine some of the less advanced populations of Southern Asia.

CHAPTER XIV

OF TWINS IN BURMA, CAMBODIA, AND THE MALAY ARCHIPELAGO

The Karens.

Amongst the Sawngtung Karens, twins and triplets being spiritually dangerous are always killed[1].

In Cambodia, 'the birth of twins is considered unlucky, as also is that of albinos, dwarfs, and deformed infants. These unfortunate children, except when the offspring of *bakus* (Brahmans), become from their very birth lifelong slaves of the king[2].'

The Bataks: their magic rain-staff.

Amongst the Batak tribes of Java, there are traces of special regard for twins, and of a connection of twins with the Rain and the Lightning. An interesting way of examining the Batak cult will be to study Prof. van Ophuijsen's paper on *Der bataksche Zauberstab*, from which it appears that the Bataks use a magic staff in rain-making on which are carved the figures of

Si Adji Donda Hatahutan

and of his twin sister

Si Topi Radja Na Uasan,

with perhaps a third figure, who may be a double of the second.

The story of these twins is told by the Batak people: it opens as follows: 'Once upon a time in the old days, there was a prince, whose wife brought twins into the world, a boy and a girl. In any case it is unlucky to bear twins, but the misfortune is even worse when the twins are a boy and a girl.' So far we are on familiar ground: twins are taboo, and as we find in many places, there is a special risk as to

[1] Temple, in Hastings' *Encyclop. Religion and Ethics*, III. 32.

[2] Cabaton, in Hastings' *Encyclop. Religion and Ethics*, III. 164.

boy and girl twins, because they are thought to have antenatally contradicted the law of exogamy in the tribe. The story goes on to tell how they were turned into branches of trees, and, being cursed by God, could be made into magical staves.

Prof. Ophuijsen says the names of these magical staves mean

Prince of the dread staff,
Maiden, thirsty princess,

and that they represent the Lightning and the Earth.

Meerwaldt had explained them as Lightning and Rain, probably with more correctness. Their father is called Datu Arang Dēbata, which means Divine Black Prince, probably the Sky covered with black clouds: his eldest son is the lightning.

On one of the staves described by v. Ophuijsen, the head of Si Adji Donda is crowned with cock's feathers. The cock is, as we shall often have occasion to note, one of the series of thunder-birds. What does the staff represent? Is it a branch of the sacred tree, or is it another way of regarding the lightning? Or are both of these points of view tenable? In favour of the former is the belief in a Thunder-tree, such as we find in Western and Middle Europe, in which the Thunder-god animistically resides. In favour of the latter explanation, that the staff is the lightning, we have for parallels the spiral rod in the hands of the Mexican Thunder-god[1], the trident in the hands of the Greek and Assyrian gods, which is only a split flash of lightning, etc.

For Meerwaldt's belief that the twins are the lightning and the rain, which may naturally be regarded as the children of the Sky-god, we shall find some parallels in Chinese and in Phoenician twin-lore, where the twins are Fire and Wind.

There seems to be no doubt about the twin-taboo among the Bataks, nor that they are the children of the Sky, nor that they are taboo in the sense of disapproval.

For a general summary of the beliefs of the natives of the

[1] 'This Idol (Tlaloc) was painted blue and green, to represent the colours of water, and held in his right hand a pointed spiral rod of gold, to represent lightning.' Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes of the United States*, vol. VI. p. 461.

Dutch East Indies with regard to twins, we may consult Wilken, *Handleiding voor de vergelijkende Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indië* (pp. 207 sqq.).

The island of Bali.

In the island of Bali, Hindoo influences can still be traced. The four Indian distinctions of caste can be observed; viz. the Brahmins of priestly caste, the Kshatryas or soldiers, the Vaicayas or merchants and farmers; and last of all, the Sudras, or common people. The Bali people call them Brahmanas, Satryas, Wesjas, and Sudras. There is no doubt as to the origin of these Bali castes: and, amongst them all, the birth of twins is regarded as a blessing, provided they are of the same sex. If, however, a boy and a girl are born, that is regarded as a calamity to both parents and village, when it occurs among the Sudra and Wesja castes, but a blessing for the Brahmana and Satrya; and in that case for the whole country.

In the two former cases twin-birth is called *manak salah* or *sinful birth*, and the twins themselves *sinful twins*. This peculiar variety in the interpretation of the twin-birth should be carefully noted, because we have here within the limits of a single community the very same change of view which we observed amongst different tribes in Africa. It is not to be supposed that the two upper castes always regarded twins favourably: the twin-taboo is older than the caste divisions; but in the process of time the two upper castes have rid themselves of the taboo, and have left it hanging round the necks of the two lower castes.

Mother exiled.

Immediately after the birth, the mother with her newly born babies is hunted out of the village and condemned for three months to live outside the centre of the community, preferably in a temporary dwelling in the neighbourhood of a graveyard. They can only come back after the time indicated and the offering of a proper sacrifice.

Amongst the Brahmanas and Satryas twins of opposite sexes are called *betrothed twins*; and in former times, it was the custom to marry them to one another when they reached maturity[1]. The influence of Hindoo religion in these customs

[1] *Tijdschrift v. Ind. Taal- Lande- en Volkenkunde*, deel XVIII. pp. 164–6.

must be carefully kept in mind. It is quite possible that many of the peculiar strands in the religions of the Dutch East Indian islands may be traceable to continental migration, either Indian or Malay.

Niassers. Amongst the Niassers twins were universally regarded as a curse and were immediately put to death; their parents were tabooed for a year[1].

Dyaks, etc. Amongst the Dyaks of the Western division, twins of the same sex are a favourable sign, of different sexes the opposite is the case. A boy in such a case becomes a slave of the prince[2].

Twin-births are looked at even less favourably by the Makasars and Boegineze, who call them by names implying marital infidelity[3].

The case is even worse among the Igorrote. The last born child of twins is given to someone who is willing to bring it up. If no such person is found, the child is strangled or buried alive. In some of the islands similar regulations prevail, but, as a rule, twin-births are considered a sign of good luck[4].

Further light is thrown upon this subject by J. C. van Eerde in a paper in *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal- Lande- en Volkenkunde*[5].

Sumatra. Amongst these Malay populations of Sumatra, who may be reckoned the most primitive, twin-births are not frequent, and triplets are extremely rare. If a person eats two bananas that have grown together, or an egg with two yolks, there is great chance that twins will be born. When twins are of different sex, then the children of the district throw stones or coffee-beans against the wall of the house where the twins are born: if this is not done, one of the twins, boy or girl, will die. Van Eerde says that this is a stoning of evil spirits, on the hypothesis that the children have before birth broken sexual laws. We may compare this belief with those of the natives of S. W. Australia.

[1] Durdik, *Geneesk. Tijdschr. v. Neder. Ind.* 1881, p. 262.

[2] *Tijdschr. v. Ind. T.- L.- en Volkenkunde*, deel XI. p. 24.

[3] *Ind. Gids.* 1882, vol. I. p. 62. [4] l.c. p. 27.

[5] 'Een Huwelijk bij de Minangkabausche Maleiers,' vol. XLIV. (1901), p. 494.

The twin problem in the Dutch East Indies is also discussed by Letteboer in *Mededeeling van Wege der Nederlandsche Zendelinggenootschap*[1]. The observations are made on the natives of Savu, an island between Java and New Guinea. Twins are not desired: they are, moreover, rare. Twins of opposite sexes are even more disliked: one of the two must promptly die: if they both grew up they would be permanently unhappy: they cannot be strong (for want of sufficient sustenance), nor clever: they will be deficient in memory: above all they dread the prospect of such twins marrying one another. This seems to be a traditional belief, and implies that in former times such cases of closely related marriage actually occurred.

Island of Savu.

With the foregoing we may take the customs of the island of Yap in the Caroline group.

The Caroline islands.

In this island there do not appear any definite traces of the twin-taboo. When twins are born, one of them is given to a brother or other near relation to bring up, as it is thought that otherwise one of the twins would die. Such a child cannot afterwards be claimed by its parents in the event of the death of its brother[2].

Some closer enquiry into this case would seem desirable, on account of the ambiguous statement that one of the twins would die, if the brother did not remove it. As the case is stated, it might mean nothing more than that it was difficult for a woman to bring up twins.

Close to Sumatra on the west lies the island of Nias, concerning which we have some further information from an Italian traveller, named Modigliani[3].

Nias island.

In this island the fear of twins is very great: the twin-birth is not considered as a natural phenomenon, but as a superfoetation due to the operation of a demon. If twins were allowed to live, they would bring on their village the disaster of fire, of plague, or the death of their own parents;

[1] Vol. XLI. (1902), p. 46.

[2] A. Senfft, *Ethnographische Beiträge über die Karolinen-Insel Yap* in Petermann, XLIX. p. 53.

[3] *Viaggio à Nias*, p. 355.

consequently one of them is put to death, commonly the weakest of the two. When the twin-murder is over, they make a sacrifice to Adú Hôro, and the whole village gives itself to a revel of congratulation over the escaped danger and disgrace.

There can be no doubt here about the potency of the twin-fear, and although the strongest twin has commonly the right to survive, the cult cannot be reduced, as has sometimes been suggested, to a case of 'which shall I keep?'

CHAPTER XV

THE TWIN-CULT IN POLYNESIA, MELANESIA, AND AUSTRALIA

We now turn to New Guinea, and the islands that lie to the north and east of the Australian continent.

Twins in British New Guinea are disliked.

From the reports of the *Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits*[1] we learn that in many parts of British New Guinea twins are very much disliked, the unfortunate mother is regarded as being like a dog, and one of the twins is almost invariably killed, but twins are not disliked among the Sinangolo.

Twins are said to be uncommon among the Western islands. Their occurrence is said to be due to excessive intercourse and to inspire disgust. Formerly one of them would have been got rid of by being buried alive in a hole dug on the sand-beach.

There can be no doubt that the original twin-taboo lurks under these statements: there is no trace of dual parentage, and no remembrance of a time when both twins and their mother were killed. The mother is, however, the object of general reprobation, and, as we have so often found, is compared with the multiple-bearing lower animals.

Twins produced by magic.

We have some further information of a belief in Mabuiag that twins are produced by the action of a sorcerer (*maidelaig*).

He 'twists *damap*, apparently a kind of creeper brought from New Guinea, round the neck of a wax figure, to which he has given the name of the pregnant woman. The ends of the *damap* are not tied, but cross each other in front of the figure's neck, thus representing the two cords crossing each other *in utero*....Twins are also considered to be produced

[1] Vol. v. p. 198 (1904).

by the pregnant woman touching or breaking a branch of a loranthaceous plant (*viscum* sp. probably *V. orientale*) parasitic on a tree, *mader*. The wood of this tree is much esteemed for making digging sticks and as firewood, no twin-producing properties are inherent in it, nor is it regarded as being infected with the properties of its twin-producing parasite.'

One would like to know some more about the virtues of this tree and its parasite.

Tribes on the Papuan Gulf kill one twin.

On the mainland of New Guinea, bordering on the Papuan Gulf, we find that the tribes living in the district of Elema, the coast territory lying between Cape Possession on the east, and the Alele River on the west, think that it is right to kill one of the twins, in the interest of the tribe, and because (it is an explanation which we have not infrequently found elsewhere) no mother can successfully bring up two children at once[1].

On the subject of twins in British New Guinea, there is an important article by Henri Eschlimann in *Anthropos* for March-April 1911[2]. Speaking as a missionary for his own district, he says that it is the general opinion that twins have no right to live, and that he only knows of one case to the contrary, where a woman who had borne twins gave one to a neighbour who had lost her child. The formula for dealing with such cases is

Kuni tribes kill one.

'A woman has borne twins, she will kill one,'

and the reason assigned is, as was just now stated, that if she tried to bring both of them up, neither would become strong.

Eschlimann tells a tale of the influence of the Catholic religion of repressing this surviving barbarism. A woman who had borne twins was going to take the usual steps, when she was reviled and threatened by a Catholic friend with divine judgements. The missionary was called in, and bought the child in debate from its parents.

[1] Holmes, 'Initiation Ceremonies of Natives of the Papuan Gulf,' *Journ. Anth. Instit.* xxxii. (1902), p. 422.

[2] pp. 264, 265.

He relates another case of a woman, who, at her first lying-in, had twins, and killed them both, for fear that her husband would be offended at such a manner of beginning married life.

The tribes here described are called Kuni, and the head-quarters of the mission is at St Anne d'Oba-oba, Papua.

The north-eastern part of New Guinea and the adjacent islands are now German territory, under the name of Kaiser Wilhelm's Land and the Bismarck Archipelago.

From the former it is reported that twins of the same sex are allowed to live; if of different sexes, one is killed, generally the female[1].

Twins disliked in Bismarck Islands.

The same dislike of twins of opposite sexes is found in the Bismarck Archipelago (Duke of York islands), according to an account of Mr Danks in the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute* for 1889[2]. The situation is summed up by Frazer in his book on *Totemism and Exogamy*[3] as follows: 'a curious corollary of the exogamy of the two classes is that, if twins are born, and they are boy and girl, they are put to death, because, being of the same class, and being of opposite sex, they were supposed to have had in the womb a closeness of connection which amounted to a violation of their marital law.' Exogamy, that is to say, perpetuated twin-murder in a particular case, when it was disappearing in other cases.

Exogamy assists twin-murder.

Frazer also quotes from Scott (which should be Scott Nind?) in the *Journals of the Royal Geographical Society* for 1832[4] the custom of the natives of King George's Sound in S. W. Australia. Here, when twins were born, one was killed; if of opposite sexes, the girl was killed; and the reason for killing one of them is, as in New Guinea, that the woman could not well bring up two[5].

One twin killed on King George's Sound.

This is almost exactly what Delessert reports for New Holland in his *Voyages dans les deux Océans*[6] with the striking

[1] *Nachrichten über Kaiser-Wilhelm's Land und der Bismarck Archipel.* p. 82.

[2] Vol. XVIII. p. 292.

[3] Vol. II. p. 122.

[4] Vol. I. p. 39.

[5] Frazer, l.c.

[6] *Voyages dans les deux Océans*, Paris (1848), p. 142.

variation that, in the case of boy and girl twins, it is the male that is sacrificed.

The customs in the Bismarck Archipelago are also reported on, for the island formerly known as New Britain, by Dr George Brown, in his book on *Melanesians and Polynesians*[1]. Twins (*katai*) were frequent. If both were male or both female, they would be allowed to live; but if one was a male and the other a female, the girl was strangled. In some cases both were killed. This was done, because, being of the same class, they were supposed to have violated the laws of class relationship, or might do so in after life. Both these reasons are given by the natives. In the Shortland group (Solomon Islands) when twins were born, one was always killed.

In the Solomon Islands one twin killed.

When we move still further east, we do not find the same evidence of twin-murder. Dr Brown reports[2] that in Samoa twins were frequent, and that he had been informed of two cases of triplets. Ill-natured people talked of these as litter, but there was no suggestion of making away with them.

To the S.E. of the Solomon Islands lie the New Hebrides; in one of these, Leper's Island, Codrington reports that it is thought that twins may be a gift of Tagaro. Women who want a child will go to a sacred place in hope that the spirit of the place will give them one, and sometimes he gives them two. The suggestion of spirit influence should be noted. Codrington does not believe in a spirit parentage of twins amongst the Melanesians; but he admits that in the island of Florida, on the outskirts of the Solomon Island group, there seems to be something of a suspicion that two fathers may be concerned; they take it that the woman has trespassed in the sacred place, *vumuha*, of some ghost, *Tindalo*, whose power lies that way. That certainly is very near indeed to the statement that the second child of twins is a spirit-child[3].

Traces of dual parentage in Leper's Island.

[1] George Brown, D.D., *Melanesians and Polynesians*, London (Macmillan), p. 35 (1910).

[2] l.c. p. 45.

[3] Codrington, *Melanesians*, pp. 229, 230.

Twins liked in Melanesia.

Codrington found no instances in the Melanesian groups of the practice of twin-murder, nor of any dislike to twins, except for the trouble they cause. At Saa, he says, twins are liked: at Motlav, the people of a village are proud of their twins, and the parents and relations make much of them; no one would adopt one of them because it would spoil the pleasure of seeing them together. When one reads these statements, especially the last, the impression they make is that, in part at least, they are not sincere answers to enquiries. The question was probably asked in such a way as to suggest to the savage the kind of reply that would please his enquirer. That the natives should be averse to twins being brought up in different families is very improbable. This is not the sort of thing that weighs with them. While it is not impossible that the Melanesian mind is friendly towards twins, it would be well to make a closer investigation into the matter, as, for example, to enquire whether there were any deprecatory rites at the supposed welcome twin-birth. We are not to be surprised if there should be a rapid change of sentiment from the unfavourable view of twins in New Guinea and the Bismarck Archipelago to the supposed favourable judgement in the groups of islands in the southern Pacific; for we see such rapid changes taking place as we move from tribe to tribe all over Africa; what we want is some more evidence as to the circumstances which attend the birth of twins, concerning which Codrington has, apparently, nothing to say. We want, also, some further information of the relation between the woman and the *tindalo*.

The Constellation of the Twins known in Hervey islands.

Here is another matter that requires a little clearing up in connection with Polynesian beliefs. Occasionally it seems as if they had more astronomical knowledge than belongs to their proper tribal evolution. For example, in the Hervey islands, Ellis[1] found that the natives knew 'many of the constellations, and still more of the single stars. Mars they call *fetia ura*, red star....The Pleiades they call *matarii*, small

[1] Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, II. 415.

eyes. But one of the most remarkable facts is, that the constellation of the Twins is so named by them; only, instead of denominating the two stars Castor and Pollux, they call them *ma ainanu*, the two ainanus; and to distinguish the one from the other, ainanu above and ainanu below.'

The question is, How did the twin stars get this recognition of their duality among the South Sea Islanders? Is it spontaneous or borrowed: their own observation, or the indication made to them by some voyagers? I do not see how to answer these questions at present: we shall, however, find something like the same observation amongst the Australian tribes[1].

We have already referred to the opinions of the natives of St George's Sound in S. W. Australia with regard to the violation of the law of exogamy by boy and girl twins.

Twins on mainland of Australia.

Traces of the twin-cult may be found elsewhere in Australia, and occasionally with the same curious explanation. Thus Spencer and Gillen report[2] that 'twins, which are of extremely rare occurrence, are usually immediately killed as something which is unnatural; but there is no ill-treatment of the mother, such as is described as occurring in the case of certain West African peoples by Miss Kingsley. We cannot find out what exactly lies at the root of this dislike of twins, in the case of the Arunta and other tribes. Dr Fison once suggested that it might be due to the fact that the

Violation of exogamy.

idea of two individuals of the same class being associated so closely was abhorrent to the native mind, that it was, in fact, looked upon much in the light of incest. In the case of the twins being one a boy, and one a girl, this might account for it, but when they are both of the same sex it is difficult to see how any feeling of this kind could arise. Possibly it is to be explained on the simpler ground that the parent feels a not unrighteous anger that two spirit individuals should think of entering the body of the woman at one and the same time, when they know well that the mother could not possibly rear them both, added to which

[1] Ellis does not, I think, explain the meaning of the word *ainanu*.

[2] *Native tribes of Central Australia* (1899), p. 52.

the advent of twins is of rare occurrence, and the native always has a dread of anything which appears strange and out of the common." Dread of twins.

The foregoing remarks are suggestive, though confessedly inadequate: it is true, as Dr Fison suggested, that the fear of an actual or potential violation of the law of exogamy has been operating on the savage mind: it is clear from the illustrations already given of the existence of such suspicions, that the exogamous practice has re-acted on the twin-cult: but, as Spencer and Gillen see clearly, it is not a sufficient explanation of the twin-cult itself. Neither is it sufficient to say that twins are hard to bring up, and that food is scarce: the same terrors prevail where food is plentiful, and life fairly easy. The last sentence comes nearest to an explanation; the dread of the abnormal. Apparently this explanation was the one that Spencer and Gillen found most satisfactory, for in their next great book, published in 1904, on the *Northern Tribes of Central Australia* (p. 609), they allude to the matter again in the following terms: '*Twins are usually destroyed at once as something uncanny,* but apparently they are of very rare occurrence. In the Binbinga and Coastal tribes a child will be killed if it has been causing the mother much pain before birth. In every instance it must be remembered that the spirit part of the child returns at once to the Alcheringa home, and may very soon be born again, entering, very likely, the same woman.'

The infrequency of twins, which is supposed by Spencer and Gillen to accentuate the sense of their abnormality, is contradicted for S. E. Australia by Dawson, in his *Australian Aborigines* (p. 39), 'Twins are as common among them as among Europeans: but as food is occasionally very scarce, and a large family troublesome to move about, it is lawful and customary to destroy the weakest twin-child, irrespective of sex. It is usual, also, to destroy those that are malformed.' In confirmation of this theory of the twin-cult, Dawson goes on to explain that when a woman finds her family increasing too rapidly, she consults her husband as to the destruction

of one of them, and that this naturally means killing one of the girls.

What we learn from Dawson is that in S. E. Australia, also, the practice of twin-murder, with partial modification, prevails. And it is probable that we might generalise some such statement for the whole of Australia, in view of what has already been stated.

CHAPTER XVI

THE TWIN-CULT IN ASSAM, ETC.

THERE is a tribe in Assam called the Khasis which has the twin superstition in a form presenting striking analogies with what we have noticed in S. W. Australia and elsewhere[1]. A twin-birth is *sang* or taboo. The Khasis argue that as there is but one Ka Iawbei (first ancestress), and one U Thawlang (first ancestor), so one child, male or female, should be born at a time. A twin-birth is accordingly regarded as a visitation by God for some *sang* or transgression, committed by some member of the clan. When the twins are of opposite sexes, the *sang* is considered to be extremely serious, the Khasi idea being that defilement has taken place within the womb. The case is treated as one of *Shong kur*, or marriage within the clan, and the bones of the twin cannot be placed in the sepulchre of the clan.

Twins in Assam.

The Khasis.

Amongst the Ao-nagas in Assam we have a story of the origin of lightning which is charged with Dioscuric features. This story, which I find in *Anthropos* (vol. IV. p. 154), comes from a traveller named Molz, who describes a visit paid to the Ao-nagas, and the works and ways of the people. The myth about the lightning is to the following effect:

The Ao-nagas.

Many years ago there lived upon earth *Two Divine Brethren, who were always at loggerheads with one another.* One day, after they had been fighting, the elder changed the younger into a squirrel, *after which he left the earth and went away to Heaven.* The squirrel left behind on the earth now makes a cry in a wailing tone: and this irritates the Divine Brother in Heaven, because he thinks that the cry of the squirrel is a declaration of war. *Very often he gets out of*

The Brethren who quarrel.

One brother divine? who wields thunder.

[1] Gurdon, *The Khasis.*

patience and hurls down the lightning. That this account is Dioscuric is certain; two brothers, one of whom resides in Heaven, the other on earth; the language not quite clear as to whether one brother is mortal for they are both described as Divine: a constant quarrel between the two brothers, as in the case of Romulus and Remus, or Esau and Jacob; and since one brother is turned into a squirrel, must we not assume a sacred tree for the earth brother to live in? And the control of the lightning makes the brother in Heaven a thunder-boy, and the tree which he strikes a lightning-tree.

Surely these savages in Assam have either inherited or evolved the Dioscuric tradition of the great Brethren, who are the assessors of the thunder-god. But in that case the squirrel must be the cult-animal, which is something new.

Squirrel as thunder-animal.

The cult-animal for Thunder is commonly a bird, though we have found cases of bear-ancestry, wolf-ancestry, and the like, where the thunder is more or less involved, to say nothing of a possible intrusion of the beaver (*Castor*) in the story of the Spartan Dioscuri. These cases, however, are all obscure, and are not sufficient to explain the presence of the squirrel in the Ao-naga cult. It is possible that the explanation may lie in another direction. It may be a flying squirrel that is at the bottom of the myth, the flying squirrel being regarded by savages of low culture as a bird. Let us turn to Mr Batchelor's account of the *Ainu and their folk-lore*, and see what the Ainu say about the flying squirrel.

Cult of flying squirrel,

Bird-cult exists among the Ainu in a variety of forms: the most important instance being the reference, upon which we shall enlarge later, to the Woodpecker as a boat-builder, and a consequent semi-religious taboo of the bird. The Ainu have a great regard for the flying squirrel; Mr Batchelor says: 'I find that the flying squirrel holds a very high place in the cult practised amongst this people. *The Ainu place this animal amongst the birds,* but this is because they fly; and we will not quarrel with them because they are a little out in some of their ornithological notions. In cases where there is lack of family issue, the men, after earnestly appealing to the goddess of fire and her consort, for help, often place

amongst the Ainu.

their hopes on the flying squirrel....The name by which the flying squirrel is known is *At Kamu*, and that is said to mean, the *divine prolific one*. It is so called because it is said to produce as many as thirty young at a birth. When partaken of, the flesh is supposed to convey power, in some unexplained way, to generate children.' Mr Batchelor need not have found a difficulty in so simple a case of sympathetic magic as this.

The animal is sacrificed and eaten secretly, no one being allowed to know of it except the husband and wife who are involved in the plot.

It will be seen that amongst the Ainu, the flying squirrel is considered as a bird (is it perhaps a thunder-bird?) and actually discharges a Dioscuric function; it has the patronage of fertility. If the flying squirrel should be the cult-animal in rites of the Ainu, there is no reason why the ordinary squirrel should not be so amongst the Ao-nagas, even if they do not exactly recognise him as a bird. The case would be easier if we could have the assistance of colour. A *red* squirrel would be a very good representative of the thunder. The gray squirrel is, I believe, the Indian variety, but I am not sure about this. If we could recognise the squirrel as the cult-animal in a thunder-myth, then, since the earth-brother in the myth of the Ao-nagas is changed into him, we should have both brothers as thunder-boys, one through his transformation into the Thunder-bird (or quasi-bird) the other because he actually wields the lightning.

As we have said, the Ao-naga myth must be classed as Dioscuric.

Among the Todas, it is the custom to kill one of a pair of twins, even if both should be boys. If they should be girls, it is probable that both would be killed[1].

[1] Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 480.

CHAPTER XVII

ON THE TWIN-FEAR IN ANCIENT INDIA

Twins in India.

We are now come to the frontiers of India, and are to enquire into the traces of twin-fear or twin-worship in the ancient Indian civilization. We have, in reality, been on the borders of the subject already, when we were discussing the case of influence from Hindustan upon the natives of the Dutch East India islands. We found a complete caste system on the Indian model, associated with a twin-cult, which was savage for the two lower castes, but modified into approbation for the two higher castes, so that the priests and warriors preserved their twin-children, while the lower orders destroyed theirs. It was a natural suggestion that we had caught the original custom of geminicide in the act of transformation from twin-hate to twin-honour. It will be well to keep this in mind, in case an Indian twin-cult at home should show the same features in the peninsula, as we detect in the islands.

Twin-taboo in the Rig-Veda;

The first fact to be brought to notice is that the Vedic literature shows the existence of a twin-taboo, not only on men, but upon the higher animals, kine, horses, and asses. We are dealing with the ill-luck of a twinning (major) animal.

as among Bechuanas, in Peru,

Now this is not quite new to us. We have already quoted John Campbell's observation (at the beginning of last century) that the Bechuanas not only kill one of twin-children, but if a cow should have two calves, one of them must be either killed or driven away. In Peru, the twin-fear affects *llamas* as well as men. And it was pointed out

and in Wales.

that in Wales at the present day, where the twin-cult for children survives in the form of approbation and a sense of

good-luck and fertile influences, a man will sell a cow which brings forth two calves because the luck is gone from her. This means that the taboo has been reversed in the case of human beings, the original view being that both cases, twin-men and twin-cattle, meant ill-luck. No one would want to change the taboo on animals from good-luck again to ill-luck. How lucky twin-children have become in Wales may be seen from the following communication from my friend Miss Hilda M. Stranger, of Plymouth: 'My house-keeper tells me that at her home in a village of Glamorganshire, *twins are much in request for weddings*. They have twin girls in their family, who are often asked as bridesmaids to ensure luck to the wedded pair.'

Welsh twins lucky, if human:

That is, of course, thoroughly Dioscuric, but it is not the view of the man with twin-calves, who sees nothing but ill-luck in his twins.

and unlucky if bovine.

When we turn to the Indian literature, we find in the *Atharva-Veda* a special section dealing with the question of averting the ill-luck caused by a twinning animal. The section is translated in Griffith's *Hymns of the Atharva-Veda* (pp. 122, 123), and Griffith notes acutely that the 'same superstition is found at the present time in uncivilized parts of Africa.' It is also translated by Weber, *Indische Studien* (XVII. 297 ff.), and by Bloomfield in the *Sacred Books of the East* (S.B.E. XLII. pp. 145, 359). I transcribe Bloomfield's rendering, and some of his notes.

Spells for averting ill-luck from the Atharva-Veda.

p. 145. III. 28. Formula in expiation of the birth of twin-calves.

1. Through one creation at a time (this) cow was born when the fashioners of the beings did create the cows of many colours. (Therefore), when a cow doth beget twins portentously, growling and cross she injureth the cattle.

2. This (cow) doth injure our cattle: a flesh-eater, a devourer, she hath become. Hence to a Brahman we shall give her: in this way may she be kindly and auspicious!

3. Auspicious be to (our) men, auspicious to (our) cows and horses, auspicious to this entire field, auspicious be to us right here!

The Brahman annexes the cow.

4. Here be prosperity, here be sap! Be thou here one that especially gives a thousandfold! Make the cattle prosper, thou mother of twins!

5. Where our pious friends live joyously, having left behind the ailments of their bodies, to that world the mother of twins did attain: may she not injure our men and our cattle!

6. Where is the world of our pious friends, where the world of them that sacrifice with the agnihotra, to that world the mother of twins did attain: may she not injure our men and our cattle!

p. 359. (Bloomfield's comment on above.)

Contrary to modern superstitions which regard the birth of twins as auspicious, and prize animals born in pairs, the prevailing Hindu view is that the birth of twins is an ominous occurrence to be expiated by diverse performances, and that the cattle itself is, as a rule, to be given to the Brahmans. But there are not wanting indications that a favourable view of such events also existed, and one may suspect shrewdly that the thrifty Brahmans, who stood ever ready to gather in all sorts of odds and ends (cf. the elaborate *oratio pro domo*, XII. 4, in connection with the vasâ), gave vigorous support to any tendency towards superstitious fear which might show its head in connection with such occurrences. Weber, *Indische Studien*, XVII. 298 ff., has assembled quite a number of passages which represent the Hindu attitude towards twins. Cf. also Tait, S. II. 1. 8. 4.

The hymn is rubricated thrice in the Kausika, in the thirteenth book, which is devoted to expiatory performances (prâyuskitti) in connection with all sorts of omens and portents. It is employed in chapters 109, 5; 110, 4; 111, 5 on the occasion of the birth of twins from cows, mares, asses, and women. The practices consist in cooking porridge in the milk of the mother, offering ghee, pouring the dregs of ghee into a water vessel and upon the porridge. Then the animal and its young are made to eat of the porridge, to drink of the water, and they are also sprinkled with the same water. The mother is then given to the Brahmans, and in

Exorcism of twinning animals:

the case of the human mother, a ransom "according to her value, or, in accordance with the wealth (of the father)," is paid. Cf. Weber, *Omina und Portenta*, p. 377 ff. Ransom of twin-mother.

Stanza 1. Since the mother of twins was born under an arrangement which made a separate act of creation necessary for each individual, the birth of two at a time is *apartu*, "unseasonable, portentous."

. . . . . .

Stanzas 5, 6. The mother of twins is invited to enter the world of the blissful which is described in all its attractiveness, and yet, implicitly, is not desired for the time being by the owner of the cow. In *yamînî*, "a mother of twins," there is a pun, "fit for Yama the god of heaven, and death": this makes it still more appropriate that she shall go there....'

This deprecatory ritual is full of suggestive points. It is interesting to see how the taboo is raised or re-interpreted. It is not really raised: but it ceases to affect the Brahman and his cows; just as in the Dutch East Indies the taboo on human twins does not touch the higher castes, who are clearly immune. The Brahman, in fact, is in the position of advantage of the African witch-doctor, who can handle tabooed property which would be fatal to meaner mortals. The Brahman takes the cow, and removes the risks from the owner by transferring the risks, and the cow, to himself; and this proceeding suits all classes. When we compare it with the action of the self-willed and ungoverned Welshman, who sells the cow and transfers the ill-luck to someone else, we see that we are on a different plane of religious life. The one person shuffles out of his dangers and responsibilities, and leaves them on another man's shoulders, the other nobly transfers them to his own;—for the consideration that the cow should go along with the taboo: evidently the Brahman is the more religious person of the two, and the better endowed, for he is better off by a cow, even if he is worse off by the possible incidence of a taboo, which would not normally affect him. Wise Brahman! Brave Brahman! It is interesting too, that the Brahman also confiscates the offending

Twin-cult in India compared with Welsh custom.

woman, in the parallel case, and her husband has to redeem her!

Then it is noteworthy that the cow herself, whose action is deprecated by the chant and the accompanying ritual, is also appealed to positively, as being by sympathetic action the symbol and cause of fertility. She attains an almost celestial rank, and is the object of prayers. She is appealed to in a somewhat similar manner and is employed to the same ends as the hypothetically fertile flying squirrel of the Ainu. One sees how important the twins and their mother are, consequently, to be reckoned in the quest of fertility. This cow in Indian life, with its two calves, corresponds to the Uganda twin-mother, whose body can fertilize banana-trees; so that although the cow is disliked, she is also liked, and if dangerous, is also helpful. It is natural that the theme of fertility should become in time a leading motive in the interpretation of twins. As we have seen, in South Wales, where the cow is still dangerous, human twins are altogether beneficent. The stages of the evolution can be traced. We shall see, moreover, that when the Indian twins attain celestial rank, they carry over with them their powers of fertilization, and will preside over weddings just as potently as if they were little twin-girls in modern Wales. The bride-chamber and the birth-chamber will be their natural places of resort.

This piece of old Indian ritual has now been sufficiently explained.

The Horsemen of the Rig-Veda.

In the next place, something must be said with regard to the two Açvins, or *Celestial Horsemen*, in whom the twin-cult has finally expressed itself. The exact process by which the dreaded or approved twin-children become dread or beneficent powers, may not be easy to describe: it is, however, clear from the analogies of other religions, that it is not uncommon to find the cult of the earthly twins develop into or be accompanied by the cult of the heavenly twins. In Peru, for instance, where the Spaniards found the Indians worshipping twins under the title of *Children of the Thunder*, they worshipped also a pair of thunder and lightning twins,

Apocatequil and *Piguerao*. The thunder itself had come to be regarded as duplicate, no doubt under a reflex influence from the belief that twins on earth were related to the thunder. The earthly twins had become celestial and sat by their sire. We need not be surprised at this, for from another point of view, the West African beliefs suggest that a twin which was dangerous in life, might be dangerous after death, in which case images of them would naturally be made, supplies of food and drink would be offered to them, and deprecatory prayers addressed. Where the twins were friendly, they might equally be expected to keep up their interest after they had ceased to be visible, and to be still helpful to men.

The Açvins occupy a very prominent place in the ancient Indian religion, and the Vedas are constantly referring to them. It would take a volume to discuss the character and function of these twin-brethren (such a volume would be something like Dr Myriantheus' book *Die Açvins*[1]), but the importance of the factor in the Aryan religion makes it necessary to repeat a little of what is already well known to the students of Indian religion and comparative theology.

The Açvins, or twin-horsemen, are mentioned more than 400 times in the Rig-Veda, and are celebrated in more than 50 complete hymns, as well as in parts of others. Their name *Açvinau* (*Equines* in the dual), refers to a connection between themselves and horses. One strand of the myth is that they were born from horse parentage (gods transformed into horses), for which the parallel is the swan parentage of Castor and Pollux. As they are also described as children of the Sky-god, for which we have the Dioscuric parallel, and the Children of Tilo among the Baronga, it is probable that the horses in question are cult animals connected with the worship of the Sky, in the same way as the woodpeckers in early Greek and Roman religion.

The twins chariot-drivers.

In the Rig-Veda the twins are no longer thought of as horses and are commonly horse-drivers, which must not be confused with horse riding; the horse is driven in a chariot, and the Açvins are regarded as the inventors of the yoke

[1] *Die Açvins oder Arischen Dioskuren*, München, 1876.

which controls their steeds. The Greek parallel for this is 'horse-taming Castor' of Homer, where again we are not to think of the horse as tamed for riding. The Dioscuri who ride on horses, as Castor and Pollux at the battle of the Lake Regillus, are a later stage of development. The Açvins, without the name, and perhaps without the horses, may go back to pre-Vedic days: it is better to think of them simply as the great Twin-Brethren, without special names or descriptions in the first instance.

Called Nasatiya.

In the Vedic literature they are also called by the name *Nasatiya*, the meaning of which is uncertain: no etymology that has been suggested for the name is entirely satisfactory: the name must be kept in mind, not only because it is one of the terms by which we recognise the Açvins in the Vedic literature, and define their activities, but because the name itself appears to be persistent. A statement has recently been circulated that the Nasatiya with other Indian deities have been found in the Hittite tablets. If this should turn out to be correct, it will be a fact of the first importance in determining the connection between Indian and Greek religious ideas.

Amongst the interpretations which have been given to the word Nasatiya, one makes it practically equivalent with the Greek Σωτήρ[1] (saviour). Whether this be correct or not[2], it is certain that the twin-brethren came to be regarded

[1] Brunnhofer, *Von Aral bis zur Ganga*, p. 99, the root being *nas* as in Gothic *nas-jan*, to save, to help.

[2] Brunnhofer rejects peremptorily the suggestion that the twins were called Nasatiya because they had long noses! But perhaps he may be wrong in this. We have traced the twins back to a bird ancestry in ever so many places, and sometimes we have come across the traditional form as they pass from birds to men. For example, among the Dacotahs, the thunder-bird which was killed had *a face like a man, with a nose like an eagle's bill.* There is then, nothing impossible in the supposition that between the bird-twin and the human-twin, a bird-man should have occurred, in which case the word Nasatiya becomes intelligible. The confirmation of this explanation from the artistic side may be seen in the representation of the Chinese Thunder-god to which we have already alluded (see p. 30) as having wings, claws *and beak* attached to a human form. The Nasatiya might be thus Beak-men. For Sanskrit confirmation see Additional Notes at the end of this volume.

as the typical saviours of persons in disability and in distress. The list of their benevolences is long and definite; they have an especial interest in the blind, whose eyes they open, in the infertile or sexually disabled, in the traveller and the sailor; they preside over the nuptial chamber, supply the agriculturist with rain, teach him the use of the plough, and so on. The Açvins as Saviours.

We should compare the language of the Homeric Hymns (XXXIII. 16):

> σωτῆρας τέκε παῖδας ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων
> ὠκυπόρων τε νεῶν ὅτε τε σπέρχωσιν ἄελλαι
> χειμέριαι κατὰ πόντον ἀμείλιχον....

The question as to what natural powers of phenomena are represented by the Açvins has met with very various solutions: the difficulty of the determination arises from not putting the emphasis on the fundamental feature of the cult which necessarily underlies later developments. It is certain from the Vedas that the Açvins are twins, and we know enough about twin-cults by this time to see how the peculiarities of the great Twin-Brethren can be derived from or associated with the primal Fear.

We should, further, be on our guard against the natural desire to find one consistent explanation of everything that might be called Açvinism; what we have before us is a number of evolutionary strands tangled up together, a number of overlapping strata of belief. That the Twins are Sky-children is certain; the Vedas say so clearly in a number of places: but there is no consensus, either in the Vedic hymns, or in the minds of their interpreters, as to what will follow from their relation to the Sky. Could they be, for example, the Sun and Moon; or the morning and evening twilights, or the constellation which in later days is definitely named after them, or are they the morning and evening stars? If there is one solution which must be adopted to the exclusion of the others, it is the latter: for (1) it is characteristic of primitive man to regard the morning and evening star as two different stars, exactly equal and similar, and therefore to be described as twins, and even the Greeks The Twins as morning and evening lights or morning and evening stars?

only came slowly to realise that they were the same star; (2) the comparison of the Indian myths with the Lettish traditions and folk-songs, shows, as Mannhardt pointed out, the same twin-brethren or their horses identified with the morning and the evening stars. This means that when the twins became stars, they were in the first instance known as Hesper and Phosphor, and of these one was up and the other down at the same time, which furnished the Greeks with the material for their story of the alternate immortality of Castor and Pollux. The supposition explains at once why the twins are always invoked at the Dawn, and why they are so closely connected with the maiden Surya, who is either the Sun, or the daughter of the Sun. Here again the Greek parallel comes to our aid; for Castor and Pollux have also a female figure associated with them, their sister Helena: and in the Lettish myths, the Sons of God (*diva deli*) ride on their horses to assist the daughter of the Sun. Folk-lore will furnish us with other stories of the Twin-Brethren, who rescue the imprisoned maiden; all these stories go back into a very primitive stratum of the twin-cult as known to our Indo-Germanic ancestors.

Red the colour of the Açvins.

The colour of the Açvins is red, and this means probably for the Vedic literature the red of the dawn, though it may have regard also to the colour of the lightning, seeing that, like Indra, the twins are rain-makers. For the former interpretation we have the known connection of the Açvins with morning and evening light; in this connection, Myriantheus has pointed out[1] that the Açvins sometimes drive a team of gray asses, instead of their regular red or white steeds, the reference being to the gray of the early morning light. The suggestion is ingenious, and while not quite outside doubt, is extremely probable. We shall find a parallel for it, later on, in the *Acts of Thomas*.

[1] l.c. p. 74. 'Aus dem Grauen des Morgens, welches der gewöhnlichen Farbe des Esels entspricht, hat sich auch ohne Zweifel die Vorstellung gebildet dass der Wagen der Açvins von einem oder zwei Eseln gezogen wird.'

CHAPTER XVIII

THE TWIN-CULT IN CENTRAL ASIA MINOR

We have been discussing Indian deities, and may now remind ourselves that some of these, such as Mithra, are common both to Persia and India: and if the Vedas give such prominence to the Açvins, the Persian religion also had its *açpino yavino*, the two youths, the Açpins. The observation is important for the twins ought to appear in Persia if we are really dealing with the religion of our Aryan ancestors: if the twin-cult is as primitive as we suppose, it cannot be studied upon the isolated soil of India. The Twins in Persia.

Can we trace it on its westward way from the frontiers of Persia and India? It is at this point that Winckler's discovery of Aryan deities (including the Twins) amongst the Hittite tablets, becomes so important. The importance of the discovery was emphasized in the *Expository Times* for August 1910 in the statement that 'the supreme surprise of the Boghaz Koi tablets (is) that the royal house of Mitanni in the time of Hatti domination, invoked gods who have familiar Aryan names, Indra, Mithra, Varuna, and the Açvin Twins.' The Twins on the Hittite tablets.

The editor was quoting from a statement made by Hogarth at the Winnipeg meeting of the British Association in 1909. It was quite right to express 'supreme surprise.' The quotation might have been a little longer with advantage. From Hogarth we learn that Winckler 'clearly states his belief that the Mitanni were in the mass ethnically kin to the Hatti, worshipping the same supreme god Teshup.

Nor is he disturbed in this belief by what is perhaps the most startling of the revelations made by the Boghaz Koi tablets etc.' (*ut supra*).

Aryan deities amongst the Harri.

The Aryan gods in question appear as the sponsors in treaties made between Subbiluliuma and Mattiuaza, the son of Tushratta, the king of Mitanni[1]. They appear along with the gods of Mitanni, of whom Teshub is the supreme, and the population for whom these gods are responsible when oaths are taken, are called Harri, lying to the east and north of the kingdom of Mitanni. Winckler boldly claims these Harri as Aryans, and justifies his equivalence by the Achaemenid Inscriptions, where the Aryans appear as Har-ri-ja.

The Mitanni lie in Mesopotamia, and a people in alliance with them on the north and east would occupy Armenia, including perhaps the city of Malatiya and the plain of Harput. This, then, is the region in which the Aryan people were still united and powerful, in the time of the supremacy of the Hittites. If Winckler can maintain these positions, we shall have begun to build the ethnological bridge between our own European ancestors, and their cognates in Persia and India. And there seems little doubt that the Aryan deities have actually been found.

Are the Edessan twins Aryan?

There is another direction in which the result is important: it makes it easier for us to recognise the Aryan twins and the Aryan people in the complex population and ancestry of the city of Edessa. We shall probably be able to show that they worshipped the morning and evening stars as assessors of the Sun in Edessa, down to the very time of the conversion of Edessa to Christianity and even later. If so, we have in evidence twins of the Indian type in the religion of that city, unless it can be shown that there are Semitic twins of the very same type. It is practically at this point that the difficulty will arise: the Edessan twins are named Monim and Aziz, and it can be shown that both of these are Arab names. So far as the names go, the evidence is against the belief that the Edessan twins are

[1] See Winckler, *MDOG.* nr. 35, and id. *Orientalische Lit.-Zeitung* for July, 1910.

Aryan. The argument is not final, and we leave the matter at this point undecided.

The history of the Abgar dynasty has yet to be unravelled. On the one hand there is a steady affirmation on the part of the citizens, as represented in the Syriac literature, that Edessa is Parthian; on the other hand the name Abgar and some other names associated with the dynasty are suspiciously transjordanic and Nabataean. As far as I have yet gone with the problem, it appears to me that a Nabataean prince succeeded to the Edessan kingdom, without altogether displacing a previous Parthian rule: this might easily have happened if, for example, a Nabataean ruler had come in by marriage. The case would be something like the connection of Aretas with Herod by the marriage of the daughter of the former. In this way we might account for the Semitic character of the names of the Edessan twins[1].

The question of the Edessan twins is, therefore, one that requires closer study. It belongs, in part, to the Prolegomena to the *Apocryphal Acts of Thomas*, which we shall show to have been thoroughly Dioscurized, and probably by an Edessan hand.

The Twins on the Upper Euphrates.

Meanwhile the case stands thus: Edessa, which is probably not far removed from the centre of the Mitanni government, shows conclusive evidence that a twin-cult existed there; to the north and east, the same side of the Euphrates, lay, if Winckler is correct, the Aryan allies of the Mitanni, also worshippers of twins. Suppose we go a little further to the north, and follow the upper arm of the Euphrates till we come to the cañon, just below the modern city of Egin, we find at the dangerous spot where the river enters the cañon, a sanctuary of the Twins. This makes three cases of twin-worship, two certain and the other probable, placed right across the centre of Asia Minor: the combination of the evidence is certainly striking. With regard to the sanctuary at the Egin rapids, we have at the present day, only a ruined chapel of S. Cosmas and S. Damian.

[1] See further on this matter in Additional Notes.

This I discovered in 1903 when I was preparing to navigate the cañon in question on a raft (kellik) floated on goatskins in the manner that can be seen on the Assyrian monuments. Cosmas and Damian are certainly twins, and they must be recognised as discharging the usual functions of twins towards those who navigate the rapids. There is not the least doubt that they have displaced an earlier pair of twins at the point in question: the navigation of the Euphrates and its dangers, are not things of yesterday: the kelliks came down the cañon before Cosmas and Damian were thought of: and the custom of prayer to guardian spirits, or of placating river spirits in dangerous places, is known all over the world. The spirits who were appealed to, or appeased at the cañon of the Euphrates, are seen, by the substitute which the Church offered for them, to have been the Heavenly Twins. These must have had a strong hold on the populations of Asia Minor.

CHAPTER XIX

WHY DID THE TWINS GO TO SEA?

In the previous chapter we were examining the traces of twin-cult in ancient times for the central part of Asia Minor and for Northern Mesopotamia, and we found reason to believe that twin-worship prevailed in the district of Edessa, perhaps in the district of Malatiya (Melitene) and Harpoot, and on the upper branch of the Euphrates. These three suggestions provoke further enquiries in three directions: the Edessan cult requires to be re-stated as regards the extent to which it is involved in the *Acts of Thomas*, or to which it has parallels in early Arabian or Palestinian religion; the supposed Aryan settlement in Armenia suggests that we now follow the Aryans westward into Europe; and the discovery of the twins acting as river-saints in the very heart of the country, raises the question as to how they came to be sea-saints, having presumably been river-saints in the first instance. Which of these roads of enquiry shall we take? they are all open, and all interesting: in each case the results will be important, whether we start for Lithuania, for Central Arabia or for the sea. As, however, the Edessan problem opens up some of the most important questions in religious tradition, it will perhaps be better to leave that for a later investigation; and, in the same way, the Lettish folk-songs, which supply a parallel with Edessa, in that the tradition of both districts involves the worship of the morning and evening star, considered as twins, may be set on one side for a little while. We will, therefore, proceed with the third point, the appearance of the twins as river-saints on the

Euphrates and the consequences which flow from that observation[1].

Twins are River-Saints.

We will begin with the observation that the twins were River-Saints before they were Sea-Saints. One advantage which accrues from having detected the primitive taboo which underlies Dioscurism, is that we can rapidly reach conclusions which, otherwise, might require much collecting and sifting of evidence. For example, when we observe that in Graeco-Roman times, the Twins were the patrons of sea-faring men, and wish to know whether this is one of their primitive characteristics, the taboo tells us at once that it had originally nothing to do with the Sea, and that, therefore, the protection of sailors cannot be its first intention, a result which would be borne out by the study of Greek Literature, and might, indeed, have been derived from it. Moreover, since the twin-cult is based on elementary fears in connection with the propagation of the species, it is only after long reflection on the part of our distant ancestors that the Twins come to be regarded as human benefactors and saviours; and since man travels by land for ages before he ventures on the sea (*illi robur et aes triplex*) the Dioscuri will be protectors of land travellers before they become the patron saints of sailors, and since, when man does venture on the water, he begins with river transport before he ventures on the great deep, the Twins must be river-saints before they become sea-saints. All of this lies in the nature of the case, and does not need, or hardly needs, to be reinforced by literary investigations or archaeological research. If, for example, a votive altar is found in Notre-Dame at Paris with a dedication from the boatmen on the Seine, accompanied by images of Castor and Pollux, we have no reason to suppose that this Cult of the Twins, which we recognise to exist in Gaul, has moved up the river from Havre de Grace; it is much more likely to be on its way downstream: and in the

Twins were a land-taboo.

Twins on the Seine

[1] In what follows I make use of a paper read before the Oxford Congress of Religions in 1908, and published in the *Contemporary Review* in 1909; for permission to make use of this paper, as in similar cases, I am indebted to the editorial managers of the magazine.

same way the cult of the twins on the rapids of the Euphrates is, of necessity, a much older cult than the same worship paid by Tyrian or Sidonian voyagers in the Mediterranean. So the river-saints come first, because the river-navigation comes first, and because river-dangers precede sea-perils experimentally. If it should be objected that some of the lowest specimens of humanity, say in Polynesia, are sea-going people, and spend all their time on the sea, the answer is easy; they did not originally belong to those islands or seas, where we find them, but they and their ships have made an easterly migration from India or the Malay Peninsula, and they learned ship-building and navigation on the continent, which brings us back to the position from which we started. and on the Euphrates

The twins, then, preside over the dangers of river-navigation, whether of very dangerous waters, like the Euphrates, or of less perilous streams, like the Seine; we need not hesitate to believe that they were once in evidence on the Tiber, not indeed under the names of Castor and Pollux, which are probably due to Greek influence upon neighbouring Latin peoples, but under the names of Romulus (Romus) and Remus, which we know to belong to the earliest civilization on the banks of the river; and we shall show presently that Romulus and Remus not only presided over their home waters, but that they actually put to sea and contended there for naval supremacy with Castor and Pollux. and on the Tiber.

What is wanted, then, is a laying-down of the general lines on which the Heavenly Twins arrived, by long evolution, at their final position among the chief benefactors of the human race, and on those general lines, the filling-in of the various factors of the evidence which go to make up a complete demonstration: for, happily, thanks to the persistence of savage life on the one hand, and of ecclesiastically modified paganism on the other, we have almost all the links in the evolutionary chain before us, and we know what to look for in countries and amongst peoples where, at first sight, the evidence has, until now, been deficient or obscured.

If, for example, we start from the observation that the

Greeks regard Twins as the children of Zeus, the sky-god, and the Baronga tribe as the children of Tilo (the sky), and the ancient Peruvians as children of the Thunder, we have to examine what is known about the Sky-god and the Thunder-god, and we soon find out that for the Mediterranean and middle-European peoples, the Thunder-god is also an Oak-god. This leads on to the registration of all the forms of the cult of the Oak-god, whether ancient or modern, and the correlation of those cults with the worship of the Thunder: for it is the two assessors of the Oak-god or Thunder-god that are going to take charge of our ships for us, and protect our sailors from the dangers of the streams, the shallows, or the deep: the dangers must also be classified, because they will make the places of worship of the Twins, considered as human helpers and saviours. Let us take up again an instance, to which we drew attention in a previous chapter.

Twins in Western Palestine

In the Survey-map of Western Palestine, we shall find in the neighbourhood of Jaffa, a place whose modern name is Ibn Abraq or Ibraq, lying somewhere to the east from Jaffa, at a distance of about four or five miles, a little to the north of the road that runs from Jaffa to Jerusalem. The

as Sons of Lightning.

name means *Son of Lightnings*; our attention is attracted, we should have expected *Sons of the Lightning*. On turning to the Book of Joshua (xix. 45), we find a list of places in the tribe of Dan, and amongst them, *Jehud* and *Bnē-Baraq*, and Gath-Rimmon. Here we have the desired plural formation, *Sons of Lightning*, and curiously the thunder-god, as Rimmon, is himself in the neighbourhood.

We turn in the next place to the great inscription of Sennacherib, and we find (col. ii. 66) the same name *Bana-ai-bar-qa* in connection with Joppa and Beth-Dagon. So here again we have the same plural formation, and the three witnesses prove that there was a town in western Palestine named after the Heavenly Twins. It does not appear to be in any sense a Greek name or a later importation or modern translation: it is as old as the literature and the monuments can make it: and its form is exactly parallel to the term

Boanerges, by which Jesus designated two of his most active and enthusiastic disciples. We shall be able to point out other cases of Palestinian Dioscurism, and it will become clear in the course of the investigation that the Heavenly Twins were worshipped in Palestine from the earliest times, and that the cult prevailed in some form or tradition down to the Christian era, and that we must not emphasize Jewish monotheism so strongly as to obscure this fact.

Palestine twins protect navigators.

Returning to the Sons of the Lightning, or Dioscuri, as we may now call them, we ask what they are doing in the place where we found them; for, to judge from analogy, they should have been rendering some service. The answer must surely be connected with the harbour of Jaffa and its dangers. If we move the modern village of Ibn Abraq a little further north, we are on the high ground overlooking the harbour of Jaffa, and we, therefore, conjecture that the place was either a landmark or a signal-station for sailors leaving or approaching Jaffa. The Twins are there because the danger is there, as anyone knows who has tried to land at Jaffa in rough weather. It is a case like Strabo describes when he tells us of the erection of the Pharos at Alexandria, and its dedication to the twins: 'for as the coast on either side is low and without harbours, with reefs and shallows, an elevated and conspicuous mark was required to enable navigators coming in from the open sea to direct their course exactly to the entrance to the harbour[1].'

Twins preside over the Pharos at Alexandria.

Twins in Libya.

Now let us go a step further; if we are right that the Bnē-Baraq are the Dioscuri, what shall we say of the city Barca in N. Africa, one of the great cities of the Libyan Pentapolis? It is sometimes said that this is a Libyan name, but this will not do, because we have it as a cognomen of Hamilcar the Carthaginian, on whom they conferred the title Barcas, apparently because of his rapid action in war, and this title must be Punic, i.e. Semitic: we have a somewhat similar case in the hero Baraq in the Book of Judges. Moreover, the town of Barcelona in Spain was originally

[1] Strabo, xvii. 1. 6.

called *Barkinon*, and Ausonius says[1] that Barcelona was an original Punic colony: the name of the city Barca appears also in the Syriac lists of the bishops of the Nicene Council, spelt Barqēs (ܒܪܩܐ), from which it is clear that the word is derived from the lightning[2].

So we conjecture that Barca has something to do with the Lightning, and that it may be compared with the Bnē Baraq. Is there any evidence that would naturally connect Barca with the Twins? What should the Twins do there? The answer is, the great Syrtis. Both Cyrene and its colony Barca honoured the Dioscuri, and had a sufficient local reason for doing so, Barca even more than Cyrene. Take up a coin of Cyrene, you will find, on one side of it, the silphium plant, which was sacred to the Twins: take a coin of Barca, and you will probably find on one side of it the head of Jupiter Ammon, and on the other the silphium plant. Then turn to Pausanias[3] and read how the Dioscuri came from Cyrene to Sparta[4] in search of hospitality which was refused them by Phormio who occupied their ancient dwelling, and how next morning the daughter of Phormio had disappeared, and on the table in her room there stood a silphium plant to show who were the visitors that had carried her off, and to intimate that people should not be unmindful to entertain strangers, lest they should fail to entertain the Dioscuri themselves.

Protecting sailors from the Syrtis.

So there can be no doubt that the Cyrenaica (and Barca in particular) was under the protection of the Dioscuri, and the reason for this emphasis upon the protectors of the Dorians must surely be the Syrtis, just as at Jaffa it is the ugly reef of rocks outside the town, and at Egin on the Upper Euphrates it is the broken water of the rapids.

From these observations we conclude generally that, since the Twins preside over navigation, on shore as well as at sea, we shall expect them to have charge of (*a*) signalling

[1] Ep. xxiv. 68, 69, me Punica laedet Barcino.
[2] B. H. Cowper, *Analecta Nicaena*, 7.
[3] tr. Frazer, iii. 16. 2, 3.
[4] Cyrene was, on the Greek side, a Dorian colony.

stations and landmarks; (*b*) lighthouses; (*c*) dangerous straits and harbours difficult of access; (*d*) sandbanks etc.: i.e. we should look for them in connexion with all such situations as would in modern times be occupied by light-houses and landmarks, with a view to the avoidance of danger and the reduction of the risks of navigation. Let us see whether this generalisation can be confirmed.

Twins preside over harbours, straits, shallows, etc.

We understand from Strabo[1] that the Pharos at Alexandria had an inscription that Sostratus the Knidian the son of Dexiphanes had erected it to the Saviour-gods on behalf of those who made sea-voyages[2]: here we have the definite statement that the Pharos was under the care of the Dioscuri. It would be easy to show parallel cases to this; for instance, the castle of S. Elmo at Naples, and a similar one at Malta may be put in the same category: for S. Elmo is one of the residuary legatees of the Dioscuri, and probably the cult of S. Cyrus and S. John at Abukir (i.e. father Cyrus) is due to a displacement of the Dioscuri at another point of the Egyptian sea-board: a pretty case of dedication to the Twins by a harbour-master was found at Kreusis in Boeotia[3]. The Twins were evidently his natural patrons.

at Malta, Naples,

Abukir, etc.

and in Boeotia

I have shown in *Cult of the Heavenly Twins*[4] that the channel of the Bosporus for sailors going up or down the strait was marked on either side by shrines of S. Michael, and since the tradition connected with these shrines suggests[5] that Michael had on a certain occasion fought with Amykus, the king of the Bebryces, which is really the business of Pollux the Argonaut, we may be sure that the shrines of Michael on the Bosporus, are connected with early shrines of the Twins[6]: the real danger, however, for timid Mediterranean

and on both sides of the Bosporus,

[1] XVII. 16.

[2] Σώστρατος Κνίδιος Δεξιφανοῦς Θεοῖς
Σωτήρσιν ὑπὲρ τῶν πλοϊζομένων.

[3] *C. I. G.* VII. 1826, quoted by Jaisle in *Die Dioskuren als Retter zur See*, p. 14.

[4] p. 132.

[5] The tradition is preserved by John Malalas, *Chron.* IV. 78, and in Sozomen (*H. E.* 11. 3).

[6] The interesting case of the displacement of the Twins in Italy by

and in the Black Sea.

sailors going to the Euxine, was the supposed Symplegades, and it is interesting to note that when Ovid pronounces a benediction on voyaging friends, one of whom is about to pass the Symplegades, while the other was leaving Tomi for the north, he commends them to the Dioscuri[1].

It is reasonable to suppose that the heroes who had sailed to Colchis with the Argonauts, would not desert shipmen on entering the Euxine after protecting them through the preliminary strait. As a matter of fact, the Twins are at home everywhere in the Black Sea.

Twins in the British Channel,

Let us come a little nearer home: think of the dangers of the British Channel, which culminate in the Goodwin Sands, 'a very dangerous flat and fatal, where the carcases of many a tall ship lie buried.' The county of Kent, surrounded as it is on three sides by the sea, and marked by numerous points of danger, must have been a natural ground

especially in county of Kent.

for the development of Dioscuric ideas by sailors. Suppose we test this by an examination of the saints who were honoured in the Kentish churches before the Reformation. We can do this fairly well by means of Hussey's *Testamenta Cantiana* which consists of extracts from Kentish Wills relating to Church Building and Topography.

The four saints who are most in demand, as judged by the benefactions for the maintenance of candles at their altars and the like, are Nicholas, Erasmus, Cosmas and Damian, Crispin and Crispian. Nicholas is supposed to be the substitute for Zeus-Poseidonios to whom sailors prayed at Myra: he is a historical character: Erasmus is a substitute for the Heavenly Twins, and may, conceivably, be a real person, though we have something further to say on this:

S. Michael was noted during the last great eruption of Vesuvius, when the Church of S. Michael, which had formerly been a sanctuary of Castor and Pollux, was overwhelmed.

[1] Vos quoque, Tyndaridae, quos haec colit insula, fratres,
Mite precor duplici numen adesse viae!
Altera namque parat Symplegadas ire per artas,
Scindere Bistonias altera puppis aquas.
Vos facite, ut ventos, loca cum diversa petamus,
Illa suos habeat, nec minus illa suos. Ovid, *Tristia*, IX. 45—50.

the other two groups are the Twins, thinly disguised, and have no claim to real human existence[1].

When we examine the Kent churches and their benefactions in the period referred to, we find that Nicholas has 22 churches dedicated to him, and that he is mentioned in benefactions 133 times. Erasmus, who seems to have been very popular in east Kent, has no churches dedicated to him, but he is mentioned in 57 benefactions. Nicholas is evidently the older saint, but Erasmus runs him hard in popularity. Then we have Cosmas and Damian, who have two churches dedicated to them, and an occasional altar (five benefactions noted), while for Crispin-Crispian there are no churches dedicated (perhaps because they are latecomers), but several cases of altars, images, and lights.

Twins at Sandwich.

Now it is particularly interesting in this connection to take the case of the harbour of Sandwich, which decayed through the encroachment of the Goodwin Sands, and was the nearest place of importance to that great danger of Channel navigation.

In Sandwich there was a Carmelite Friary, dedicated to Our Lady of Mt Carmel, and in the church was an altar of S. Crispin and S. Crispian: in the same Church was an altar of S. Cosmas and S. Damian.

So here were the twins, duplicated, and working double tides. There seems good reason for referring this activity to the neighbouring Syrtis[2].

The English Channel, then, is under the care of the Heavenly Twins, the Goodwin Sands being in this respect parallel to the Great African Syrtis, and to the marine difficulties at Jaffa or at the entrance to the Bosporus.

[1] For these saints, see *Cult*, pp. 73, 96.

[2] *Test. Cant.* p. 293.

'To the light of S. Cosmas and S. Damian in the Church of the Carmelite Friars, 4 lbs. of wax. W. Harrison of S. Peter's, 1489.

To the light of S. Cosmas and S. Damian in the Church of the Carmelite Friars, a lb. of wax. To the Friars 20*d*. to celebrate for my soul. Wm Tanner of the Parish of S. Peter, 1493.

Light of S. Crispin and S. Crispianus in the Church of the Friars Carmelite, 6 lbs. of wax. Wm Mountford Cordiner of S. Peter's Parish, 1479.'

Enough has been said to show that the Twins are the constant protectors of travellers by land or water, by river or sea. They went to sea, because they had been in the habit of navigating the rivers that flow into the sea. The next step will be to enquire why they appear in the navigation of rivers.

CHAPTER XX

THE TWINS AND THE ORIGIN OF NAVIGATION

The Twins patrons of navigation.

In the foregoing chapter it was shown that the Heavenly Twins had accompanied sailors into all places of difficulty and danger in which they could be found, and, in their general character of Saviour-gods, had undertaken to light the entrance to harbours, to direct the navigation of dangerous channels, to divert the lightning, and to still the storm. They did this as an evolved art, which was found in its simpler form in shallow waters and in running streams. And if we are to trace the cult to its origin, we have to leave the deep and coast along the shore, to leave the shore and ascend the rivers. To take a single instance, it was stated that Romulus and Remus had come down the Tiber, and had become protectors of sailors in the Mediterranean. A few words in explanation of this unexpected phenomenon may be in order.

S. Elmo's fire.

It was pointed out in the previous chapter that one of the patron saints of sailors in the Mediterranean was Erasmus. Another is S. Elmo, well known in the Mediterranean, and well known to tradition, because S. Elmo's fire, which sometimes appears on the masts and yards of ships during storms, is the exact continuation of what the Romans recognised as the fire of the Heavenly Twins or of Helen their sister. It was considered in ancient times a good omen if the light was double, as indicating the presence of the Dioscuri, while a single discharge was ominous and was credited to their sister. So that, whatever the origin of his name, S. Elmo became the patron saint of sailors in the west of the Mediterranean, in a true Dioscuric succession, and

disputed the spiritual empire of the sea with Nicholas of Myra, and some lesser worthies.

Elmo or Erasmo?

Who, then, is S. Elmo? Is he the same as S. Erasmus? Or is he a masculine substitute for Helena? The difficulty arises that the name of the new patron saint occurs in a variety of forms; we find him called S. Heremo, S. Hermen, S. Helm, S. Telmo, S. Anselmo, and S. Erasmus. It is not likely that all these names are substitutes for Helena. Some of them can be explained away: for instance, Telmo arises out of Sant-Elmo, by a common error of division. Anselmo is a corruption of San Elmo. But there are difficulties in connection with the forms Eremo, Elmo, and Erasmo.

Dr Karl Jaisle, of Tübingen, who has written a very able dissertation on the relation of the Dioscuri to navigation[1], examines the evidence of mediaeval writers, and following the lead of the Bollandists, decides that the original was Erasmus, and so puts the electric fire under the care of a famous bishop of the time of Diocletian, who belonged to the neighbourhood of Antioch, but travelled, living or dead, in Italy. He is, however, frank enough to confess, that neither in modern Greek nor in late Latin would the *s* of Erasmus naturally fall away before *m*; and the instances by which he tries to justify the change are not convincing. I propose to show that he is on a wrong track, and that he should have begun much higher up. As I stated previously, there is reason to believe that Romulus and Remus did get to sea and contend with Castor and Pollux for naval predominance. True that Castor and Pollux were at Ostia as well as at Rome, and might seem to have the control of the Tiber; but then we have S. Remo in the Riviera. Now it has been pointed out to me by Mr Karl Walter, of Bordighera, who is engaged in the study of the topography and antiquities of S. Remo, that close in the neighbourhood of the city is the hermitage of S. Romolo, situated where it can be a landmark to sailors making for the place, and at a height above the town of more than 2500 feet[2].

Romulus and Remus on the Riviera.

[1] *Die Dioskuren als Retter zur See bei Griechen und Römern und ihr Fortleben in christlichen Legenden.*

[2] See Baedeker, *Guide-book to Northern Italy*: 'Country houses and

So here we have Romulus and Remus together[1]. More than this, the ancient name of S. Remo, or of one of its suburbs, was Matuta; so here is the mysterious Mater Matuta[2] from Rome giving her name to a colony on the Riviera[3].

S. Eremo or San Remo.

The explanation which the clergy give of the curious canonisation of one of the Roman Twins is that S. Remo is a mistake for S. Eremo (the holy hermit), and that Romulus has nothing to do with him. But this is clearly an evasion, for on their own showing, it is Romulus that occupies the hermitage; the suggestion, however, of S. Eremo indicates to us where we are to look for the origin of S. Ermo and S. Elmo. If we go to Portugal, we find up the Tagus beyond Lisbon, the same saint appearing as Santarem[4].

All these forms, then, come from an original Remus, and Erasmus is one more deliberate modification of the same.

It is the failure to recognise that the Roman Twins went to sea that made the difficulty. Moreover, we see now why S. Elmo belongs so distinctly to the western half of the Mediterranean. If he had really been, in the first instance, S. Erasmus, he would, by his Antioch ancestry, have disputed with S. Nicholas and others the control of the Levant; but he does not appear to do so. This does not mean that Erasmus himself was a fiction; we have not discussed that question. Perhaps it may suffice to say in passing that, as his body is preserved in eleven different places, we have what may be called a cumulative argument for his real existence.

churches peep from ancient olive groves in every direction, the highest being at S. Romolo, to which the few visitors who remain throughout the Summer resort, in order to escape from the heat.'

[1] The Two are commemorated as Sancti Romuli on Oct. 11.

[2] Cf. Arnobius, 3, 23, "per maria (Mater Matuta) tutissima praestat commeantibus navigationem": which implies that Mater Matuta had functions to exercise beyond the Tiber.

[3] I cannot find S. Remo in ancient itineraries. Vintimiglia, its next-door neighbour, is *Albium Intemelium*, and Monaco, a little further west, is *Portus Herculis Monoeci*.

[4] Which the Bollandists wish to make a corruption of S. Irene. It is simply a slight modification of Santo Remo.

We are indebted to the conservatism of sailors who keep up ancient customs long after they have disappeared elsewhere, that we are able to find so many traces of the Heavenly Twins along the coasts of the Mediterranean and the English Channel.

We are now going to leave the open sea, and with the Twins still on board, ascend the rivers where the Twins have been shown to be at home.

Twins as River-Saints.

One possible explanation of the interest of the Twins in sailors disappears when we take this step. It was natural to suppose that it was the power of the Twins, as children of the Sky-god, to control the weather, that made them, in the first instance, to be appealed to by those who sail on the stormy seas. In river-navigation the weather counts for very little, and so this explanation is not the real one: it belongs to a later stage of the evolution of the cult. Cosmas and Damian, on the Euphrates, are not weather-saints, they are river-saints: and the tutelary spirits of the sea must find their origin and their function, either in the dangers of elementary navigation, or in the invention of the art, or in both: the weather may be ruled out as an explanation.

Twins as children of the Sky, the Thunder, the Oak.

Suppose we leave the river for a little while, and think of the Twins as being a part of the religious belief of primitive man. In Europe and in Western Asia, the Twins are the children of the Sky-god, who is also the Thunder-god. Moreover, as Mr A. B. Cook has so convincingly shown in a series of papers in *Folk-Lore*[1], the Sky-god of our ancestors is also the Oak-god. The simplest case of Dioscuric worship is the cult of the Thunder-god and his assessors, residing in a sacred tree or grove. The suggestions of the connection of the Dioscuri with a sacred tree, or a sacred pillar (the equivalent of a tree), are abundant. Nor is it merely in Greek and Roman antiquity that this sacred tree of the Thunder-god and his twin children occurs: we should find it in the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures; in the latter through the term 'Sons of Thunder,' in the former, in actual appearance of the Thunder-god and his two assessors, in connection with

[1] *Folk-Lore* for 1904.

the sacred oak at Mamre. The antiquity of such ideas need not be further emphasized. A more difficult question, however, arises as to what precedes the Thunder-god, as we know him anthropomorphically in Greek, Roman or Hebrew mythology. Is there anything to add to the suggested identities,

Sky-god = Thunder-god = Oak-god,

before we come to Zeus with the thunder-bolt, or double axe, or to Thor with his hammer?

Woodpecker as Thunder.

The first suggestion that comes to us in this direction is from a passage in Aristophanes[1], where we are told that there was a time when Zeus was not, but Woodpecker (δρυοκολάπτης, the Oak-tapper) was king.

Now this is a surprising suggestion; one would have expected, if a bird-divinity were to ante-date Zeus, that it would be the eagle and not the woodpecker. For the eagle is the right thunder-bird, and has the bolts in his claws like Zeus himself.

But if Woodpecker is the original king, he must be the original thunder-bird which does not at first sight seem likely.

Moreover, the problem of bird-cults generally will be raised, if we have to allow for a woodpecker displaced by an eagle, that is for two stages of the cult of Thunder in bird-form, before we come to Zeus and the human form.

Thunder-bird in ancient Crete.

The problem of bird-cults was raised by Miss Jane Harrison at the Oxford Congress of Religions in 1908, in connection with the splendid sarcophagus discovered by the Italian excavators at Hagia Triada in Crete. On this sarcophagus was represented a worship both of sacred birds, and of sacred pillars; we have, in fact, the pillars, surmounted by a pair of double axes, on which was perched a bird of black colour, 'possibly a pigeon, or, as Dr Evans suggests, a woodpecker.' And Miss Harrison pointed out that 'the pillar, as Dr Evans has clearly shown, and as is evident from the Hagia Triada sarcophagus, stands for a sacred tree.' At this point, however, Miss Harrison went astray; she imagined that the

[1] Aristophanes, *Aves*, 480.

bird and the tree represented the marriage of Heaven and Earth; for 'if the tree is of the Earth, the bird surely is of the Heaven.' In the bird brooding upon the pillar, she says, 'we have, I think, the primal form of the marriage of Ouranos and Gaia.' Miss Harrison had forgotten those double axes, which represented to the ancient mind the actual thunderbolts of Zeus, identified with stone celts, such as were used for primitive axes and hammers. The double axes betray the thunder, and tell us that the tree is a thunder-tree, and the bird is a thunder-bird. But how came the woodpecker, if the Cretan bird was a woodpecker, to be made into a thunder-bird or a sky-bird, and matched with a thunder-oak or a sky-god? Let us return for a moment to the statement that the woodpecker preceded Zeus as an object of worship.

Zeus was once a Woodpecker.

In this connection we have the statement of Suidas that, on the tomb of Minos-Zeus in Crete, there was an inscription that 'Here lies dead Picus, who is also Zeus[1].' Picus (Πῆκος) answers to the woodpecker of Aristophanes, and so we are again brought to the conclusion that the primitive Cretans, of whatever race they ultimately were, worshipped a woodpecker, and, as we have suggested above, the woodpecker as a thunder-bird.

In order to understand how this belief arose, turn back to our third and fourth chapters, on the *Thunder-bird*, or the *Red Robes of the Dioscuri*, and to the proofs there given that it was the red-head of the male woodpecker that caused it to be recognised as the incarnation of the thunder[2].

We have now enlarged our series of identities between Sky-god, Thunder-god, and Oak-god, to include the woodpecker as Thunder-bird. We might also add that it is an axe-bird, or πελεκάν, the axe being the thunder-axe as seen on the Hagia Triada sarcophagus, and elsewhere. The pelican has wrongly inherited this name: it belonged originally to the woodpecker. It was the woodpeckers (πελεκάνες) who

[1] Suidas, *s.v.* Πῆκος· ἐνθάδε κεῖται θανὼν [βασίλειος] Πῆκος ὁ καὶ Ζεύς.

[2] In the Hagia Triada sarcophagus, the red-head is wanting. I conjecture that it was originally painted with minium, which gives no permanent colour.

acted as the clever carpenters who hewed out the gates in the City of Cloud-cuckoo-borough in the birds of Aristophanes: the name Axe-bird may represent to us the woodpecker which uses its bill in making holes in trees, or it may be a collocation of the Thunder-bird with the Thunder-axe. All of these conceptions, the Sky-god, the Thunder-god, the Lightning-god, the Thunder-oak, the Thunder-bird, the Thunder-axe, precede the anthropomorphic conception which the Greeks call Zeus, and the Latins Jupiter.

But what has this bird and thunder-cult to do with the Twins?

Worship of Thunder as Bird and Axe in Crete.

Dr Evans, in describing the Cretan sarcophagus to which we have been alluding, says: 'Amongst the...fetish objects of the cult the principal, in addition to sacred trees and pillars, was the double axe. An actual scene of worship of a pair of double axes...is represented to us in the wonderful painted sarcophagus discovered by the Italian Mission at Hagia Triada. There are seen two double axes—*significant of a dual cult*—between which a priestess pours a libation... the result of the offerings and incantations is visible in the birds—*perhaps the sacred black woodpeckers of the Cretan Zeus*, settled on the apex of the double axes, and indicating the descent into these...objects of the spirits of the divinities.'

Observe the words 'a dual cult' as used of the thunder-axes and thunder-birds, and see how near we are to the Heavenly Twins. The fact is the Twins, who are boys of Zeus, when Zeus is in her man form, are naturally a pair of woodpeckers or other birds when Zeus is in the form of the thunder-bird.

Woodpecker in early Roman and Italian cults.

The connection between the Twins and the woodpecker comes out clearly enough in the old Roman mythology. First of all, we have the legend that Romulus and Remus were suckled by a she-wolf, and then the not so familiar legend that the wolf was seconded in its maternal care by a woodpecker. So Plutarch tells us in his account of the birth and fortunes of Romulus, to wit, that the woodpecker used to open the mouths of the twins and feed them from its

own beak[1]. To which it should be added that Ovid makes Rhea Sylvia dream of the woodpecker along with the wolf[2]. We may compare the idea of the women amongst the American Indians, that a woman who dreams of the grisly bear will have twins, who are in some way, perhaps totemistically, connected with that quadruped.

That the woodpecker played an important part in early Roman religion may be seen from its survival in cults related to that of the Heavenly Twins: for instance, there is a pair of Roman birth-helpers, named Picumnus and Pilumnus, whose names suggest the twin-relation, and whose occupation is one of the best known twin-functions. Picumnus is evidently derived from Picus the woodpecker, and his companion is supposed to derive his name from a great pestle (*pilum*) which he carries. I am inclined to believe that the pilum is not really a pestle (or something euphemistically so described) but a thunder-bolt, or thunder-weapon[3]. If that could be made out, we should have both the thunder-bird and the thunder-weapon represented, twin-fashion, at a Roman birth[4].

The same cult of the woodpecker is involved in the name of the town Picenum, whose inhabitants worshipped a woodpecker on a pillar (the bird on the sacred tree) and related a myth that their ancestors had been guided to the site of the town by a woodpecker, the bird that was sacred to Mars[5]. The connection of Mars with the Twins, in the Roman legend, will at once occur to the mind. The natural explanation is that Picenum was a twin-town, like Rome itself, a point to which we must return later. We have also the story of the metamorphosis of king Picus by Circe, to which reference

[1] Plutarch, *De Fort. Rom.* VIII. 320 D, *ἑκατέρου στόμα τῇ χηλῇ διοίγων, ἐνετίθει ψώμισμα τῆς ἑαυτοῦ τροφῆς ἀπομερίζων.*

[2] Ovid, *Fasti*, III. 37.

[3] It is perhaps the *Donnerkeil* which appears as *Dunnerpil* in Mecklenburg, and as *Dunnerpiler* in Rügen: see Blinkenberg, *The Thunder-Weapon*, p. 95.

[4] Among the Badegas of South India, the stone-axes are regarded as a cure for barrenness. *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, VIII. (199) quoted in Blinkenberg, p. 116.

[5] Strabo, v. p. 240.

has already been made: the origin of the saga lies in the time when 'woodpecker was king.'

So much having been said by way of preliminary with reference to the Sky-god and the woodpecker, let us now return to the problem of navigation, and work our way upstream to the origin of the tradition which makes the Twins the patrons of the navigation of rivers.

Origin of Navigation.

The first thing to be observed is the character of the navigation itself. It has been pointed out by Dr Tylor that our words 'ship,' 'skiff,' are connected with the Latin *scapha* and the Greek *σκάφος*, and imply, in the first instance, a dug-out canoe (from *σκάπτω* to dig). We observe too, says Mr Walter Johnson, in his book on *Folk-Memory*[1], 'how closely the rude punts of our inland waters resemble the channelled trunk of oak, or other forest tree, used

> "When first on streams the hollowed alder swam."
> Vergil (*Georgics*, I. 136).'

The hollow tree.

If, then, the interest of the Dioscuri in navigation belongs to the earliest period of human culture, then it must have been the dug-out canoe in which they were interested, such as we find in southern seas, or, at all events, the hollow oak, which has been made into a boat, or the hollowed alder of Vergil.

But how shall we convict them of any such interest either in primitive naval architecture, or in primitive navigation?

The Argo and the Sacred Oak.

That they were associated in early legend with the first great marine ventures of the Greeks, appears from the Argonaut legends, in which they play so prominent a part, both on sea and land. But if Castor and Pollux were among the Argonauts, then we are reminded that the Argo itself was made in part at least from the sacred oaks at Dodona, and so here also the legend throws us back on the primitive cult of the Oak, with which we know the Dioscuri to have been connected. May we carry the maritime interests of the Dioscuri back to the earlier ships that never ventured into the open sea, or dared the voyage to far away Colchis with

[1] I.e. p. 113, with reference to Tylor, *Anthropology*, p. 253; J. R. Larkey in *Ightham, the story of a Kentish Village*, by F. J. Bennett (1907); Pitt-Rivers, *Evolution of Culture*, p. 186.

Jason? Did the Dioscuri actually invent the ship, as they are said to have invented the plough and the yoke, and the chariot? If they did, it was woodpecker craft that they practised, and with which they were credited. So we ask the question whether, among the less cultured races of mankind, there is any evidence of the belief that the art of ship-building, such as is involved in the making of a dug-out canoe, was learned from the woodpecker?

The Woodpecker as boat-builder among the Ainu.

In order to settle this point we go to the northern islands of Japan, where the Ainu live, a people who came across long ago from the mainland of Kamschatka, or the island of Saghalien. We have already alluded to this people and their traditions, and to the labours amongst them by Mr Batchelor, a heroic missionary, in what might seem at first a hopelessly unfruitful field. Let us see what Mr Batchelor says of the place of the woodpecker in the Ainu traditions:

'The woodpecker appears to be in a peculiar way the boat-maker's bird. The name Chipta-Chiri, by which he is known, means "the bird which digs out boats," and he came by this designation because he is always to be found pecking at the branches and trunks of trees with his bill in the same way as the Ainu hack at them with their tools when making their dug-outs. He is thought a good deal of by some people, and his skin and head are kept for worship. This fetich is supposed to make the possessor thereof rich as well as clever in shaping out boats. Some Ainu say that he was originally sent by God to teach them how to make boats[1].'

Then follows the *Legend of the Woodpecker*. 'The Woodpecker was made by God upon this earth; when the divine Aiona came down to the world of men, he caused the woodpecker to come and help him hollow out a boat. The bird did so well at this work that when he had finished Aiona killed him and made him a great feast. The woodpecker is a truly clever bird and a fine gentleman. And so it happens that, if a person should kill one of this kind of bird, he must make him a feast, and send his spirit off well and happy. If this be done, the worshipper will become rich, as well as very

[1] *The Ainu and their folk-lore*, 1901, p. 451.

skilful in making boats. The woodpecker ought, therefore, to be treated with reverence.'

Here, then, we have evidence as to the origin of navigation as believed in by an outlying and scarcely surviving tribe, in a very early stage of culture. They represent to us the prehistoric ancestors of the Greeks and Romans; we can see the woodpecker in process of canonisation on account of the services which he is supposed to have rendered to man, as we see him actually canonised in Crete. He is the primitive boat-builder, or rather, the primitive instructor in boat-building. His virtues and talents are commemorated among a people who obtain their living, for the most part, from the sea and the rivers. What makes the woodpecker sacred in northern Japan, made him sacred also on the banks of the Tiber; and there his connection with the sacred Twins led to the patronage by the latter of the new arts of rowing and sailing, and eventually to many other services rendered by and honours accorded to the Dioscuri.

The woodpecker, then, and the hollow oak have an important place in early religion; each represents on one side, the thunder, and on the other the primitive craft of navigation. When we read that Romulus and Remus were put on the river in an *alveus*, the alveus is not a highly finished product, but just the sort of hollowed trunk that we commonly see in domestic use amongst primitive peoples. On the Tiber the first navigation was described as 'two boys in a tub!' Romulus and Remus in a tub.

We may compare the description given by Wood[1] of the canoes of the Maories in New Zealand. 'The simplest form of the New Zealander's canoe is *little more than the trunk of a tree hollowed into a sort of trough.* Being incapable of withstanding rough weather, *this canoe is only used upon rivers.*'

[1] *Natural History of Man*, p. 170.

CHAPTER XXI

THE TWINS IN PHOENICIAN TRADITION

As we have now proved that there was a connection in the mind of the primitive man between the elementary boat and the twin thunder-boys (woodpeckers), it is proper to ask whether this result is borne out by the examination of those Mediterranean peoples who were eminent in the art of navigation, the Phoenicians and the Greeks. In order to test this point, we must examine those traditions of Phoenician history which have come down to us through the translations of Greek historians, and we must also investigate the famous Greek myth of the voyage of Jason to Colchis. In the present chapter we confine ourselves to the former of the two lines of enquiry.

Phoenician legends.

What do we know of the Phoenicians as to their early history, and at what point do these great navigators of the past affirm that they became a seafaring people? In order to answer these questions we turn to the fragments of Sanchoniathon preserved in the *Praeparatio Evangelica* of Eusebius. For our purpose, the matter will be found in a convenient form with a translation in Cory's *Ancient Fragments of the Phoenician, Chaldean, and other writers*[1]. We transcribe the important passages: p. 6, 'Hypsouranios inhabited Tyre; and he invented huts constructed of reeds and rushes, and the papyrus. And he fell into enmity with his brother Usous, who was the inventor of clothing for the body which he made of the skins of the wild beasts that he could

[1] pp. 3–18.

catch. And when there were violent storms of rain and wind, the trees about Tyre being rubbed against each other, took fire, and all the forest in the neighbourhood was consumed. And Usous having taken a tree, and broken off its boughs, was the first who dared to venture on the sea. And he consecrated two pillars to Fire and Wind, and worshipped them, and poured out upon them the blood of the wild beasts he took in hunting: and when these men were dead, those that remained consecrated to them rods, and worshipped the pillars, and held anniversary feasts in honour of them.'

Uso the hunter and his brother.

Here we make a halt; we have seen something like this before: two quarrelsome brothers, with no special reason assigned for their quarrel, and one of them is a hunter. We are familiar with the theme of the twins who quarrel; the Scripture parallel is Esau and Jacob, but there are parallels outside the Scriptures; the hunting twin is again Esau, or if we prefer it, Zethos, or, if we take a feminine parallel, Artemis. So we need not hesitate to recognise a pair of twins in Hypsouranios and Usous. The name of the first twin is a translation of one of the divine names, the name of the other has had a Graecised termination added to it: its Phoenician form must be *Uso* (Οὔσω). Is that Esau? I should not like to affirm it: the names are not unlike, but the vocalisation is different in the two cases.

Uso, then, whoever he was, took advantage of a great thunderstorm, which had caused a forest fire in the neighbourhood of Tyre, and from one of the fallen trees he made himself a boat, perhaps a dug-out, and ventured in it on the sea.

Then he instituted a form of worship: he set up pillars to Fire and Wind. It is almost exactly the representation which survives in China, where in painting and carvings which go back to the stone work of the seventh century, we have the Thunder-god accompanied by the Wind-god, who sometimes actually stands by his side[1]. The matter is therefore Dioscuric, and the Twins are now the Heavenly

[1] I owe the information to Mr Freer of Detroit.

Twins, who are definitely stated to have been worshipped after death.

Agrieus and Halieus.

Now let us return to Sanchoniathon[1]. 'And in times long subsequent to these, were born of the race of Hypsouranios, Agrieus and Halieus, the inventors of the arts of hunting and fishing, from whom huntsmen and fishermen derive their names.'

Here we strike a new line of tradition, which has no real connection with the preceding, in spite of the allusion to Hypsouranios (?Bel or Bel-Shamin). The art of hunting is discovered over again, at a time long subsequent to what we previously were studying, and with hunting comes fishing. The names of these two brothers are twin-like in Greek, and it seems likely that the translator is trying to render the original gemineity of the names. We see this in the following way. To the Semitic mind it is common to regard hunting and fishing as the same craft, and to express them by the same word. Thus in Syriac, from the original stem *ṣod*, we form *ṣayyodo*, which may mean either hunter or fisher.

The equivalence comes out prettily in the fifth Sura of the Koran: 'it is lawful for you to *fish* (*ṣayodu*) in the sea and to eat what ye shall catch, as a provision for you, and for those who travel; but it is unlawful for you to *hunt* (*ṣayodu*) by land, while ye are performing the rites of pilgrimage.' Here Mohammed uses the same word exactly for hunting and fishing[2].

If, then, we have to find out which of the brothers of

[1] l.c. p. 7.

[2] In Hebrew, however, this does not hold; the Hebrew has distinct words for fishing and hunting: e.g. in Jer. xvi. 16, 'I will send many fishers and fish them....I will send many hunters and hunt them'; here the two crafts are clearly distinguished: the fisher is *dayyag*, the hunter is *ṣayyad*. And it is interesting to note that when the Syriac translator comes to this passage, he uses the same word in both cases, showing that there was for him no difference between the two crafts. There is an alternative term *goph* in Syriac; but this may mean either *hunted* or *fished*. Since *gopha* is a net, it is possible that hunting and fishing were both carried on by a net in the first instance.

Returning to the Hebrew usage, if this should be followed by the Phoenician, we should have two forms like *Ṣidon* and *Dagon* for the fishing and hunting deities; the objection would apparently be in the fact that *Dagon* is a corn-deity. So I think the statement in the text is the correct one.

Tyre is Agrieus and which is Halieus, it is reasonable to suppose that there is some modification in the vocalisation of the root letters. We are obliged to guess what the original Phoenician forms were, but it seems likely that one of the brethren was named *Ṣid*, for we have Phoenician compound names like *Ṣid-jathan*, *Ṣid-melqart*, *Ṣid-thanit*, *Baal-ṣid*, *Ḥan-ṣid*, etc.

Perhaps the other name may have been *ṣayid* or *ṣayēd*: for we have an Aramaic analogy in *Beth-ṣaida*, which suggests the sanctuary of some deity, presiding over fishing. Whatever may have been the forms of the differentiated names that underlie Halieus and Agrieus, we may be sure that the brothers, with such closely related names, were Dioscures.

To return to Sanchoniathon: 'Of these were begotten two brothers who discovered iron and the forging thereof. One of these, called Chrysor, who was the same with Hephaestos, exercised himself in words, and charms and divinations; and he invented the hook, and the bait, and the fishing-line, and boats of a light construction (σχεδίαν = raft), and he was the first of all men who sailed. Wherefore he was worshipped after his death as a god, under the name of Diamichius[1]. And it is said that his brothers invented the art of building walls with bricks.'

Chrysor and his brothers invent ships and build walls.

Here we have again two brothers, who at the close of the paragraph are at least three. The whole of the passage is full of Dioscuric touches: the primitive smith is there, who appears in the Bible as Cain and Tubal; the art of navigation is moved on a stage; the brothers are builders of walls: we remember Romulus and Remus, Zethos and Amphion, and the Babylonian representation of the Twins by an unfinished brick wall.

The art of brick-making, which may be accepted as a Dioscuric function, is carried a stage further by 'two youths, one of whom was called Technites and the other Gēïnus Autochthon. These discovered the method of mingling stubble with the loam of bricks, and of baking them in the sun; they were also the inventors of tiling.'

[1] Perhaps Zeus *Meilichios*.

Then we are told of Misor and Sydyk, that is, Well-freed and Just...'from Misor descended Taaut who invented the writing of the first letters:...but from Sydyk descended the Dioscuri or Cabiri or Corybantes or Samothraces; these (he says) first built a ship complete (*πλοῖον εὗρον*).'

The Twins as ship-builders.

So at last we come to a definite statement that the invention of the ship was due to the Dioscuri. What was the original term for them in Phoenician was not clear, perhaps it was Kabirim, which the Greek translator has furnished with all possible equivalents.

Then follows the account of the marriage of Gaia and Ouranos, and the Phoenician counterpart of the story of Kronos, after which we are told that 'at this time the descendants of the Dioscuri, having built some light and other more complete ships (*σχεδίας καὶ πλοῖα συνθέντες*), put to sea; and being cast away over against Mount Cassius, there consecrated a temple.' So we are told, about as plainly as a legend can tell us, that there was a Dioscureion on Mount Cassius.

Last of all (p. 16) we learn that the 'Kabiri were the seven sons of Sydyk, and that their eighth brother was Asklepios.' That the Kabiri were not so many in ancient times is known from other sources, for they are often interchanged with the Dioscuri: for Asklepios we have also links with the Heavenly Twins[1].

When we review the various statements made by Sanchoniathon, with regard to the art of naval architecture, we can say positively that every one of his statements is Dioscuric in character, either directly or by allusion to other arts practised by the ship-builders which are assigned elsewhere to the Twins.

The Phoenician ship-builders were originally Dioscures.

[1] It is unfortunate that we have not the Phoenician forms, nor always a transliteration: Kabiri is near enough to be counted exact, and Sydyk can be restored with sufficient approximation, but we would like to know what stood for Asklepios. Was it something like the Greek form, and did Asklepios come from Phoenicia, like Palaimon of Corinth (Baal-Yam), etc.?

CHAPTER XXII

THE VOYAGE TO COLCHIS OF JASON AND HIS COMPANIONS

Now we come to the Greek legends of ship-building and of navigation: if we could assume that the Greeks learnt the art of navigation from the same source as they learnt the alphabet, we might infer the Dioscuric origin of their ship-building from what has preceded: but this is just what a nautical people like the Greeks would be very slow to admit, even if it were pointed out that Tyre and Sidon were a thousand years older than Athens. So we must discuss the matter *de novo*, and see if we can find a meaning in the story of Jason and the first ship Argo, of which he was the captain.

Jason and the Argonauts.

The story of the voyage to Colchis is the most popular of all the Greek myths; it gave rise to a literature of its own, which we comprehensively denominate Argonautica, and from the prevalence of games in honour of Jason (Jasoneia[1]) and associated religious rites, we may conjecture that the story of Jason and his argonauts supplied many a dramatic entertainment, quite apart from the magnificent treatment given to the subject by Euripides. The story was one that invited popular drama; there was the landing at Lemnos, where the women had organised a republic of their own, to the exclusion of their own husbands and kin, whom they appear to have

[1] It is not quite clear that games are always involved: the Jasoneion is something like Dioscureion, a place where Jason was honoured. The epigram on the returned Argo certainly says that Jason instituted games:

> Ἀργὼ τὸ σκάφος εἰμί. Θεῷ δ' ἀνέθηκεν Ἰήσων
> Ἴσθμια καὶ Νεμέοις στεψάμενον πίτυσιν.
>
> Orph. Frag. 80 (ed. Abel).

killed; the fight between Pollux and the King of the Bebryces, which is described vividly enough by Apollonius Rhodius, and still more so by Theocritus; and then the adventures in Colchis, the taming of the fiery bulls, the capture of the golden fleece from the dragon who guarded it, and the subsequent adventures of Medea, her rejuvenescence of the aged father (some say, of Jason also, as though Jason were an elderly man), and their subsequent elopement to Corinth;—all of these things are capable of dramatic treatment, and some of the greatest Greek poets have been busied with them.

In modern times the story of Jason has been studied chiefly with a view to the elucidation of the mythology that is involved in the story: it was one of the most successful hunting grounds of the scholars in search of Solar Myths; here at all events, there does seem to be a naturalistic explanation of the popular Greek story: for the golden fleece, which had to be rescued from the dragon, was a not inapt figure of the Sun which had been swallowed up by the Demon of the Dark, and must be recovered from the far eastern land beyond the Black Sea. Thus Jason becomes a solar hero, and the rescuer of the imprisoned luminary, and Medea is his attendant maiden of the Dawn. However much the mythological school to which we refer may be justly discredited, there is nothing impossible in the explanation of the Argonaut saga by their methods. There is, however, another method of approaching the subject which will yield us results which are much more certain, and may be far-reaching in the mythological problem itself. Suppose we leave Colchis, and the Golden Fleece, and Medea on one side for the present, and begin at the other end, with the building, launching, and navigation of the good ship Argo. She is popularly believed to have been the first Greek ship that was ever launched. Argo, her builder, had Athena standing by him to direct his skill; the goddess has furnished him with some talismanic boards of Dodona oak, to incorporate with his Thessalian pine. She will watch over the launching of the ship, and will appear for the help of the voyagers in difficult situations.

How was the ship manned? Here we have to work through a variety of traditions, contained in the Argonautic literature: according to the Pseudo-Orphic tradition, she was a ship of fifty oars. Pindar, however, has only a crew of ten heroes, along with Mopsus their seer. Other estimates run even higher than fifty. Apollonius Rhodius, who is, almost certainly, the source of the Pseudo-Orpheus, counts fifty-five. It must be obvious that the ship has been enlarged since it was built! How could such a ship be the first ship launched, or the voyage to Colchis her trial trip? If there is anything primitive about the Argonaut tradition, we must reduce the size of the ship and the length of her voyage. We must work out successive strata of the mariner's skill and daring, as we were able to do in the Phoenician legends, and see what lies at the bottom of the imposing mass of traditions.

The crew of the Argo.

Suppose we take the story as we find it in Apollonius Rhodius. Here we have a long galley propelled by oars, the rowers being no doubt placed two by two on each thwart. Jason is the captain, Tiphys the steersman, Mopsus (shall we say?) the chaplain.

As the rowers are arranged in pairs, it is not surprising that the catalogue of the able seamen should also fall into pairs, in an extraordinary degree. In fact, the greater part of the crew are pairs of brothers, and of the brothers, most are twins. Sometimes this is positively stated, and sometimes it can be inferred. In such cases it is natural that they should sit side by side. The only difficulty will arise where the one brother is very strong, and the other very weak. For instance, Herakles is on board, and unless we are much mistaken, Iphikles is there too. Now, Iphikles, if he were on board, would be no match for Herakles. Apollonius tells us, in fact, that they had to put the strongest man in the ship against Herakles, who rows so hard that he actually breaks his oar, and has to go ashore in search of another.

Brothers on board, and twins,

Herakles,

Then, as is well known, Castor and Pollux are on board, Pollux being the boxing champion of the company, who will presently have his hands full in a match with Amykos, the

Castor and Pollux.

king of the Bebryces. Not only are the Heavenly Twins on board in their conventional form,

> 'the great Twin-Brethren
> To whom the Dorians pray,'

Idas and Lynceus.

but their deadly enemies, the Messenian twins, Idas and the far-seeing Lynceus, are there. In ordinary mythology, Idas and Lynceus fight with Castor and Pollux over certain maidens whom they have appropriated, and they kill Castor, the mortal-born twin, when he is hiding in a hollow oak. We understand about the oak-tree, what we do not understand is how the two pairs of twins are so amicably settled in the same oak-built ship.

The meaning of Amphion.

The next thing we notice is that there are a number of other twins on board. The name Amphion betrays them, and the occurrence of names compounded with Amphi. For Amphion is only a shorter form of Amphigenes, and is not in the first instance a name at all. It simply means 'twin-born.' Thus it does not necessarily connote the Theban brother of Zethus; it may be anybody's twin-brother.

Deucalion.

Keeping this simple point before our minds, we understand that if Deucalion, the son of Minos, is on board, and Amphion his brother, they are twin-brethren; and the same will be true of Asterios the son of Hyperasios and his brother Amphion; this last case is interesting, because Hyperasios is the same name as Hyperion[1], and means the Sky-god.

Asterios.

Asterios and his brother were Sky-children.

Iphikles?

So far we have the twin-brethren, the only doubtful case being Iphikles. There is some confusion in the tradition about Iphikles. The form appears to be Iphiklos, which would make little difficulty if it were not that he is described as son of Phylakos. Another tradition makes him the son of Eurytos, and there are also Argonaut lists which contain Iphitos and Iphis. It seems to me to be most natural to

[1] Usener, *Götternamen*, p. 20. According to Usener, Hyperasios is expanded from Hyperes, connected with Hyperion, and ultimately with a comparative formed from ὕπερος, like ὕπατος from ὑπέρ. Thus Hyperion is the 'one above,' probably the Sun.

assume a primitive Iphikles, brother of Herakles, and then to allow for the corruption of the name.

Our next pair is Zetes the Boread, and Kalais his brother. Apparently this is not the Theban Zethos; that the brothers are twins is definitely stated by Ovid.

Names formed with Amphi-.

For names involving *Amphi* in composition, we have Eurydamas and Amphidamas, Areios and Amphiaraos. These are not quite certain, because Apollonius adds their parentage, as though they were not brothers. Thus Eurydamas is the son of Ktimenos; and Amphidamas the son of Aleos. Areios and Amphiaraos are credited to different fathers, but as they are both from Argos, I suspect them to be brothers, and the *Amphi* prefix in the case of the second brother shows them to be twins. In fact, I should say that Amphidamas was a twin in any case; the doubtful point is whether Eurydamas is his brother. This will come up again when we examine more closely the lists of heroes in Apollonius Rhodius. We shall find cases in which Apollonius registers three brothers as being Argonauts, putting two of them together, and adding the third as a postscript. For example,

(i. 118) Ἀργόθεν αὖ Ταλαὸς καὶ Ἀρήιος, υἷε Βίαντος,
ἦλυθον, ἴφθιμός τε Λεώδοκος, οὓς τέκε Πηρὼ
Νηλῆος.

'From Argos did sons of Bias, Areius and Talaus, come,
And mighty Laodokus, fruit of Nêleus' daughter's womb.'

(i. 50) οὐδ' Ἀλόπῃ μίμνον πολυλήιοι Ἑρμείαο
υἱέες, εὖ δεδαῶτε δόλους, Ἔρυτος καὶ Ἐχίων·
τοῖσι δ' ἔπι τρίτατος γνωτὸς κίε νεισομένοισιν
Αἰθαλίδης.

'Neither in Alopê tarried Echion and Erytus, sons
Of Hermes, wealthy in corn-land, crafty-hearted ones.
And their kinsman the third with these, came forth on the quest, as they hied,
Aithalides.' (A. S. Way's translation.)

When we examine these passages, we suspect that there is a special reason for the coupling of the two brothers, distinct from the third. Is it a mere literary trick? Or does it mean that they were twins? But what becomes of

our previous suggestion that Amphidamas is the twin of Eurydamas, if we find him the closely attached brother of Kepheus[1]? so that, if we are interpreting Apollonius Rhodius, we must not count Amphidamas as a twin twice over, and we may not be able to count him at all. And the same might be said of Areios and Amphiaraos. As we have found in our lists the Spartan twins and the Messenian, the suggestion arises as to whether other pairs of twins, belonging to the Greek cities and states, may not be on board. What about the Moliones of Elis, the sons of Aktor? Their names are commonly given as Eurytos and Kleatos. Do they occur? And what shall we say of the Aloads of Boeotia, Otus and Ephialtes?

Apollonius[2] introduces Aktor as sending his son Menoetios, who is accompanied by Eurytion, who is the son of Irus, the son of Aktor. The name Eurytos evidently belongs to the Aktorid circle: but we cannot make out a clear genealogy. All we can say is that there were some Aktorids on board, but whether they were the Moliones is somewhat doubtful. Of Otus and Ephialtes I see no trace.

Reviewing the whole argument, and remembering that besides the cases discussed, there are a number of pairs of brothers, not necessarily nor probably twins, it will be admitted that the twin and brotherly element in the ship is very strong.

The first ship a twin-ship.

There may be as many as eighteen twins on board Apollonius' ship. Even if the number should be much less, it is significant. Moreover, if we should sometimes fail to identify the second brother of a pair, as perhaps in the case of Herakles and Iphikles, yet when the twin motive has been recognised, the presence of a single brother out of a pair is significant. If Pollux only were to be found on board, Pollux is a heavenly twin, and to that extent the ship is Dioscurized. This is what our investigation has led us to, that since the ship Argo was largely manned by twins, and was partly made of holy oak, the nucleus of the myth of the building and voyaging of the Argo is that *the first ship known to the Greeks was an oak tree with twins on board*, which is precisely the

[1] Apoll. I. 161. [2] Apoll. I. 69.

same result as we arrived at for Romulus and Remus on the Tiber.

Asklepios on board.

Nor have we exhausted the matter by what has preceded. Here is another point that might have been mentioned. Apollonius says that there were on board Askalaphos and Ialmenos, sons of Ares and Astyoche, the latter being herself a daughter of Aktor. There are several links in this with the twins; I only emphasize one, the presence of Askalaphos. Askalaphos is certainly a variant for Asklepios, and as we have already seen from the Phoenician traditions, Asklepios is closely related to the twins[1]. Thus we see again the twin motive running through the mythological development of the story.

This naturally raises the question as to the first composition of the crew. We have Argos for the builder, who may be a mere disguise for the all-seeing Heaven, the parent of the twins in one point of view, but who are the original twins? Is Jason himself a twin, and if he should be one, who is the other?

Last of all, if we were correct in identifying the original Roman twins with the woodpecker, are there any traces of the woodpecker in the ship Argo, or in her crew?

Was he the woodpecker, or the owl?

Let us return for a moment or two to Askalaphos, whom we have assumed to be a variant of Asklepios. We have already made use of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in the case of Picus, the king of Latium, whom Circe transformed into a woodpecker, and have pointed out that this was Ovid's way of telling backwards how a bird-cult of the woodpecker was transformed into a cult of a hero. Well: Askalaphos also appears in Ovid as a bird-transformation; he had borne witness to the plucking and eating of the pomegranate by

[1] Clement of Alexandria reminds us that Asklepios was on board the Argo. He says (*Strom.* I. 21) Ἀσκλήπιός τε καὶ οἱ Διόσκουροι συνέπλεον αὐτοῖς, ὡς μαρτυρεῖ ὁ Ῥόδιος Ἀπολλώνιος ἐν τοῖς Ἀργοναυτικοῖς, from which it is clear that Clement, or the person whom he is quoting, has identified Askalaphos and Asklepios. The same tradition is involved in Malalas, *Chron.* IV. p. 77, Cedrenus, I. pp. 104, 209, Cramer, *Anecd. Paris*, II. pp. 194, 195, Syncellus, I. p. 296. See Jessen, *Prolegg. in Cat. Argonaut*, p. 26.

Persephone, and for that reason he was turned into a bird. Ovid says it was an owl:

> Ingemuit regina Erebi, testemque profanam
> Fecit avem, sparsumque caput Phlegethontide lympha
> In rostrum et plumas et grandia lumina vertit.
> Ille sibi ablatus fulvis amicitur in alis,
> Inque caput crescit, longosque reflectitur ungues,
> Vixque movet natas per inertia bracchia pennas:
> Foedaque fit volucris, venturi nuntia luctus
> Ignavus bubo, dirum mortalibus omen. (*Met.* v. 543–550.)

Thus Ovid, explaining in reverse order how the owl became Askalaphos. We are probably right in following his intimation that Askalaphos was a bird in disguise: but was he right in identifying it with an owl? If he was, then we have probably another case of the Thunder-bird, the owl being a denizen of the hollow oak: in that sense it might easily, like the woodpecker, become the patron of those who go on the water in hollowed oaks, or of the Sons of Thunder, whose father lives in the oak. There is, however, an exception to be taken on the ground of etymology, and on the ground of insufficient verification. That Askalaphos is a bird is confirmed by Aristotle[1]: but the form of the name suggests something different from an owl. If the root is *σκαλπ-*, we have apparently two derived stems *σκαλ-* and *σκαπ-*: the latter is well known as the root of *σκάπτω*, to dig: but the former also appears in *σκάλις*, a hoe, in the corresponding verb *σκάλλω*, in O.H.G. *Scar* = English (plough-*share*), and in a number of forms with a prefixed euphonic *α*, such as *ἀσκαλίζω*, to hoe; and it is said to lie at the base of a Latin *talpa* for primitive *stalpa*, the mole being naturally described as the digger. If this is on the right track, then *ἀσκάλαφος* should be a digger-bird, and not exactly an owl. It is much more likely that the owl has appropriated a variant name of the woodpecker.

This would mean that the woodpecker was on board the Argo in the shape of Askalaphos (= Asklepios), and certainly he is the digger-bird, and the one who has been credited with the invention of ship-building. Thus we explain at the same

[1] *H. A.* II. 17, 34.

time the association which is so often found between Asklepios and the twins, his appearing with the Kabiri as if one of them, etc.

We can now proceed to the reconstruction of the original ship Argo, and ask the question whether Jason was a twin, and if so, who was his brother? If we can show that Jason was a twin, then we have added two more proofs of twin-dom in the crew of the Argo, Jason and Askalaphos-Asklepios. Was Jason a twin?

Without discussing minutely the relation between Jāson and Jăsios and Jăsion (Usener explains that Jason with a long *a* comes from the root Ἰαμαι in the same way as Jasios with a short *a* comes from Ἰάομαι, and that they may be considered equivalent), I am going to maintain the correctness of the tradition that the twin-brother of Jason is Triptolemos (= Jasion?), and that the reason why Jason goes to sea, and Triptolemos stays on land, is that the common functions of the Twins have been divided[1]. We shall show presently that the Twins are patrons of the plough and of the ship; and if that be the case, as Triptolemos is well known in Attica as the inventor of the plough and the friend of Demeter the corn-mother, we can see why (*a*) Triptolemos remains on shore, and (*b*) why there are stories of Demeter falling in love with Jasion. In reality it was Jason's twin-brother to whom she was attached; perhaps he had the name Jasion before he was called Triptolemos. Triptolemos.

If this explanation is correct, then Jason belongs to the Heavenly Twins, and discharges some of the functions proper to the Twins, leaving the agricultural duties to his twin-brother.

We have now shown reason to believe that Askalaphos is an Oak-bird (either the owl or the woodpecker) and that

[1] The Greek tradition of the stars, which are called the Twins, is not a consistent one. Commonly they are called Castor and Pollux, but sometimes they are *Jason* (*? Jasion*) *and Triptolemos*, and sometimes Apollo and Herakles: there are also other combinations, such as Theseus and Herakles, Zethos and Amphion and the Kabiri of Samothrace. We shall see later on that Jason is a Kabir. As far as Triptolemos and Jasion go, this nomenclature of the originally nameless Twin Brethren can be traced back to Hermippos. (See Boll, *Sphaera*. p. 123.) See further in Additional Notes.

Jason is the twin who first, in Greek tradition, went to sea in a trunk of holy oak. Moreover, there is a connection between Jason the first navigator and Askalaphos the first boat-builder. The ancients all say that Jason was the son of Aeson, but they betrayed, by the familiar sound of the name, that it was a mere invention of afterthought. As to Jason's mother, there are several variant traditions; amongst them there is one preserved by Tzetzes[1] that his mother was named *Scarphe*: *Scarphe* is only a variant for *Scalphe* and implies that Jason is a twin descended from the woodpecker (or conceivably the owl). There can be little room for doubt that we have traced the Argonaut story to its origin, we are behind the epos, and behind the saga, we have arrived at the first stages of man's explanation of the world and its phenomena and his own traditional practices.

Was Jason a Semite?

It remains to be investigated whether the starting point of the story of ship-building is in Greece or in Phoenicia. Is Jason originally a Semite?

The first thing that suggests itself is that the name is commonly derived from the Greek Ἰάομαι, to heal, and implies that Jason had leech-craft. The name would on this supposition be Greek and not Semitic. That the Twins should be healers is well known, from the Açvins of India to Protasius and Gervasius the *boni medici* of Milan. To contradict this supposition we should have to say that they were healers indeed, but that the leech-craft had come in later, superposed upon the nautical-craft with which they came accredited, say, from Phoenicia. This is not impossible, but inasmuch as leech-craft is early in the lore of the Twins, it is, to say the least, unlikely.

Was Jason Joshua?

It was G. F. Grotefend[2] who first suggested the Phoenician origin for Jason and equated it with Joshua. If the Septuagint made Joshua into Jesus (Ἰησοῦς), why should not the Greeks of an earlier day have made Joshua into Jason (Ἰήσων), which we see staring at us in its Ionic form (with

[1] *Lyc.* 872.

[2] Ersch and Gruber, *Allgem. Encykl.* s.v. Iason.

η for long α) all over the pages of Apollonius Rhodius? The hypothesis is certainly attractive enough: but where shall we find in Phoenicia, and amongst the Phoenician twins, the name of Joshua? Does it underlie the name Οὔσω, which we were discussing previously? It is hardly likely. And if Joshua is the missing Semitic original, how does his name compounded with Jahu appear in Phoenician origins? It will be seen that the hypothesis is beset with difficulties as far as Phoenicia is concerned.

The name of Joshua does, however, become Graecized into Jason, in the time of Greek influence in Palestine, following on the invasion of Alexander. To take a single instance, we have in the second book of Maccabees (iv. 7–15) an account of how 'after the death of Seleucus, when Antiochus called Epiphanes took the kingdom, *Jason* the brother of Onias laboured underhand to be high-priest.' From Josephus (*Antiq.* XII. 1) we learn what might, indeed, have been almost guessed, that the real name of the priestly pretender was *Joshua*. So that while the LXX were rendering Joshua by Jesus (Ἰησοῦς), the Graecizing population were altering the names into Jason. And it may be suspected that, whenever we find a *bonâ fide* Jew with the name of Jason, such as Jason of Cyrene, the historian, he was as probably a Joshua as if his name had been Jesus. This puts the whole matter in a different light. There is still a want of evidence on the side of Phoenicia, from which we have assumed that contact with Greek life by sea will be made, but the Grotefend proposition begins to acquire a degree of probability, that demands for it a close and careful enquiry.

Grotefend's hypothesis.

The actual language of Grotefend is as follows: 'Dass er ein Grieche war, deutet Homer mit den Homeriden durch keine Sylbe an; sein Tauschhandel mit den Griechen scheidet ihn vielmehr als eine Fremdling aus, und vermuthlich ist sein Name Ἰήσων nur eine griechische Nebenform von Ἰησοῦς, was im N.T. Act vii. 45: Heb. iv. 8 gleichbedeutend ist mit dem hebraische יְהוֹשֻׁעַ oder Josua, *Heiland*, nachgebildet dem weiblichen Ἰάσω für die Göttin der Heilkraft. Phöniken waren es ja, welche zuerst die Inseln Lemnos,

Imbros, Thasos besetzten.....Allein die Griechen eigneten sich, als sie die Phöniker aus ihren Meere verdrängten, auch die erste Fahrt in den Pontus zu, und wussten zuletzt auch die phönikischen Namen einer navis longa *Argo* aus griechischer Sprache zu deuten.'

Grotefend, then, affirms that Homer and his followers know nothing of a Greek ancestry for Jason, and that it is, therefore, reasonable to interpret his name by Semitic analogies, which brings out Joshua as underlying Jason.

The Phoenicians were the first to sail the Aegean and the Euxine, but the Greeks expelled them from their stations in the islands, and then ascribed to themselves the origin of ship-building, and the daring of the primitive navigator; as the Phoenicians must have been a sea-going people long before the Greeks were heard of, it seems that Grotefend must be right in saying that Jason came from Phoenicia. We are not far, now, from the Lake of Galilee and can hardly avoid the question whether the Lake was navigated before the Mediterranean was ventured. If it was so dared, Jason may be Galilean before he was Phoenician.

Grotefend's suggestion that Argo in Phoenician meant a long ship (Heb. Arḥa, = long) is not so convincing. I should rather have expected the first ship to be called oak, or thunder, or woodpecker. This point can be left in suspense with a strong mark of philological doubt.

Is there anything that will confirm us in accepting Grotefend's judgement as to the meaning and origin of the Jason legend? I think I have found such a confirmation. On an ancient gem, figured in King and Monro's illustrated Horace, will be found a representation of the very pair of twins in a boat, whom our analysis detected at the back of the Argonaut legends. The two figures are seated in a boat, facing one another, and holding between them something like an amphora with handles: they have caps on their heads, but note that they are not the egg-shaped caps of the Dioscuri, but the conical caps of the Kabiri. So then, the verdict must be that the primitive sea-going twins were remembered as Kabiri in some quarters. Jason and his

The first ship in Art.

companion were a couple of Kabirs, which is the point that we wished to confirm.

It is interesting to look a little more closely at the gem which King and Monro delineate, and at their comment upon it. The passage of Horace to be illustrated is Ode III. 29 :

> Tum me biremis praesidio scaphae
> tutum per Aegeos tumultus
> aura feret geminusque Pollux.

Pollux is invoked to bear him safe over the troubled Aegean; and his wish is illustrated by a ship, with a couple of Kabirs on board, who are companion saints of the Dioscuri. Upon this the editors remark: '*Two men*, wearing conical *pilei*, seated in a galley with oars, and holding between them a tall *amphora*. This curious and unique design shows us the Cabiri, the great gods of Pelasgic, or pre-historic Greece, and her numerous colonies. They were worshipped as the inventors of all the useful arts of life, especially of navigation and agriculture, which character is very expressively alluded to by their attributes upon this gem. Their name is Phoenician, signifying "The Mighty Ones," and is literally translated by the Latin *Divi Potes*, by which title Varro mentions their worship at Rome.'

It will be noticed that the passage contains an illegitimate equation between Pelasgic and Phoenician. The editors go on to explain that the Kabiri are described by Herodotus as being the sons of Hephaestos (III. 37), and that their figures are like the Phoenician Pataeci, or like the pygmies, i.e. that they wear conical caps. They conclude by saying that the Kabiri were confounded by the later Greeks with the Dioscuri. We agree that the Kabiri are an earlier form of the Twins than the Dioscuri. Jason, then, is a Kabir, and we should say, perhaps a Phoenician. This is the same result as was arrived at by K. O. Müller, in his book on Orchomenos[1].

Jason a Kabir.

[1] K. O. Müller, *Orchomenos u. die Minyer*, p. 260, 'Denn was Jason's Namen und That betrifft, meinten schon die Alten, dass der Zögling des heilkundigen Cheiron von der Ἴασις benannt und Aison und Jason eigentlich derselbe Name sei. Jasos, Jason, und Jasion aber sind von Ursprung einerlei, wie sie auch häufig verwechselt werden; und so ist auch dem Namen nach der Samothrakische Kabir Jasion.'

CHAPTER XXIII

THE PLOUGHS AND YOKES OF THE HEAVENLY TWINS

In the previous chapter the question was raised whether Triptolemos, the Attic inventor of the plough, was not a twin-brother of Jason, the captain of the first Greek ship: and this brings up the wider enquiry as to the association of the great Twin Brethren with the plough, their nautical skill having by this time been abundantly established.

The Twins invent the plough.

Amongst the many services supposed to have been rendered to mankind by the Heavenly Twins, one of the most important is the invention of ploughs and yokes: and it is interesting to enquire how this service came to be recognised as proper to them, and so actually performed by them. For it is certain that the functions of the Dioscuri are not thrown about at random, merely because they are the common benefactors of mankind and general saviours of the race, but in almost every case a careful examination will show that the function in question is related to the original taboo on twins, and to the recognition of the idealised twins as children of the Sky or of the Thunder. In many cases the reasons for some special form of Salvation and Well-being can be made out.

Thus the idea of fertility, involved in the production of twins, and considered in their supposed relation to the Sky, led at once to the presidency of the Twins over the marriage chamber, and over the fruits of the field; if rain was required, their connection with the Sky-god made them the proper court of appeal, and for similar reasons they became the right medicine men in the case of those whose physical powers were declining and who wished to become young again.

These, and many other points, such as their care for the sanctity of oaths, and their wrath against the perjured (for they are the children of the all-seeing Sky, in whose presence *sub Divo* the Oath is actually taken), their interest in ships (which we have traced back to the holy oak and the sacred woodpecker), can for the most part be made sufficiently luminous when once we have the right point of view. Given the same intellectual limitations, and a similar stage of human evolution, we may be sure that we should have acted and thought much as did our far away ancestors.

In the present chapter of our new science, we are to discuss the relation of the Heavenly Twins to the discovery of the plough and the invention of the yoke.

As we shall see from the traditions that have come down to us, as well as from the nature of the case, the two discoveries are closely related, and they constitute an important stage in the history of man, almost comparable to the discovery and use of fire: so that we should naturally expect that races which study their own advance and realise their own advantages, will have some story or other to tell us as to how high heaven caused the art to be known and the useful practice to be invented: in which connection it may be noted in passing, that it is one of the curious defects of the Hebrew religion that, old as it is, it has no myth of the origin of fire, or of the invention of the plough[1], though it has a sufficient record of the origin of clothes, and something to say on the subject of working in metals: many of the ancient myths must have disappeared before the time of the production of the book of Genesis.

In the case before us, then, we have first of all to prove that the Twins had charge of the plough and the yoke: then we have to make suggestion as to how these came to be their

[1] This is the more remarkable as the Phoenicians had both. Sanchoniathon (in Euseb. *Praep. Evan.* I. 10) tells us that the three children of Genos found out the means of producing fire by rubbing pieces of wood against one another, and taught men the use thereof.

He also tells us that Dagon was one of the sons of Ouranos and Ge: (Dagon signifying Bread-corn); and that Dagon, after he had found out bread-corn and the plough, was called Zeus Arotrios.

province; after which we may go on to consider the later stages of the cult and the traces of it which may survive in modern religion.

The Twins plough in the Rig-Veda.

That the Twins had charge of the plough and the yoke appears in a number of ways. In the first case it is one of the functions attached to the Açvins or Twin-horsemen of the Rig-Veda.

It may be noted in passing that the grounds on which some critics have doubted the identification of the Açvins with the Aryan Dioscuri are quite insufficient to discredit a hypothesis, so natural in itself, and so abundantly corroborated. Some perplexity has been unnecessarily introduced over a passage in the Rig-Veda in which only one of the Açvins is said to be the son of the Sky; the passage runs as follows:

'One born here, the other there, they strive together with unblemished bodies in their noble nature, victorious over the mighty; one of you is a director, the other drives on, as the darling son of the Sky.'

Max Müller's explanation of the Twins, as being born 'here and there,' is as follows: 'The Açvins are called *ihéha gâtáu*, born here and there, i.e. on opposite sides, or in the air and in the sky. One is *gishnu*, victorious, he who bides in the air; the other is *subhaga*, happy, the son of Dyu, or the Sky.'

The difficulty arose from not seeing that the Rig-Veda is explaining that one is mortal, the other immortal, and the language naturally refers to the time when only one of the pair was considered heaven-born, a stage which is also to be traced in the Greek legends, and in the taboos of savage peoples.

With this explanation, and the direct statement of the Rig-Veda that one of the two is a child of the Sky, or Dioscure, we need not make any further difficulty over the statement that one of the Twins is born here and the other there: it only means earth-born and sky-born.

Returning to the evidence of the Rig-Veda as to the connection of the Twins with the plough, we have the following statements:

'You, O Açvins, that lay enemies low, sow grain with the plough, and milk out the quickening streams of water for men.' *Rig-Veda*, I. 117, 21.

'Inasmuch as ye were helpful to men, ye in former times sowed grain in heaven with the plough[1].' *Ib.* VIII. 22, 6.

The meaning of these passages is, that the twins, who have a general care for fertility, through their connection with the Sky, and through their exhibition of it in their own persons, have also especially cared for the crops by the invention of the plough. They have the credit for the fertility which the plough produces.

Now let us go to a more barbarous region and see what the Scythians say of the origin of such civilization as they have.

Here is a curious story from Herodotus[2]:

Scythians say the plough dropped from heaven.

The Scythians say that they are the youngest of races and that they all sprung from a certain Targitaos, who was himself the son of Zeus and of the daughter of the river Borysthenes: this Targitaos had three sons, named Leipoxais (Λειπόξαϊς), Arpoxais (Ἀρπόξαϊς) and Kolaxais (Κολάξαϊς), the latter being the youngest of all. When these three brothers were ruling over Scythia, there fell down from heaven certain golden works of art, a plough and a yoke (*ἄροτρόν τε καὶ ζυγὸν*), and an axe (*σάγαρις*), and a cup (*φιάλη*). The first brother tried to seize them, but the gold caught fire on his approach; so with the second; the third brother quenched the fire and got possession of the golden ornaments; and his brethren accepted the omen and handed over the kingdom to him. The gold ornaments were laid up in a temple and were the objects of a great annual religious festival[3].

[1] Literally, *with the wolf*: this may be an early name for the ploughshare on account of its biting and tearing the ground. See Myriantheus, *Die Açvins*, pp. 123–125.

[2] Herod. IV. 5.

[3] I have translated *σάγαρις* by 'axe,' because it appears to be the same implement or weapon described by Herodotus elsewhere (VII. 64), where the weapons of the Scythians are said to be bows, axe-sagars (*ἀξίνας σαγάρις*) and hand-daggers.

Now in connection with the foregoing we have an account of the discovery of the *plough* and the *yoke*, under the fiction that golden models of them fell down from heaven. We notice that the brethren who rule the country are a triad, with names made on a common model. Is this a Kabiric model? May we compare Jabal, Jubal, and Tubal? We need further light on the meaning of the names before we can answer the question[1].

If the Scythian brothers were Dioscuric in character, we should read a meaning into their connection with the discovery of the yoke and plough. Perhaps the word 'axe' may be involved in their names also. The Scythian story will at least show, what we shall presently confirm from other quarters, that the plough and the yoke are a single discovery to the ancient world, under celestial patronage.

The battle of Luncarty.

We will now move further west, and examine a curious bit of legendary history from the highlands of Scotland, the account of the battle of Luncarty.

When I published my first researches into the history and diffusion of the Cult of the Twins, I was made sport of by a reviewer, whose personality was not very difficult to recognise, who wished to know why I had not proved Dioscuric intervention in the battle of Luncarty. The situation was, I suppose, meant to be a critical *reductio ad absurdum*. However, since then, the matter has been moved out of the region of ridicule by Mr A. B. Cook's researches on the *European Sky-God*, who dwells in the sacred tree. Mr Cook approached the Luncarty legends from another side, and found traces of the same ancient cult as prevailed at Dodona and at Nemi. And as we shall come to nearly the same point in our investigations, it may after all become a tenable theory that the battle of Luncarty was the scene

[1] A parallel case would be three deities worshipped at Samothrace, named *Axiokersos*, *Axiokersa* and *Axieros*. Here we are on Dioscuric ground, for Samothrace is headquarters for both Dioscuri and Kabiri. But here again the names are hard to explain. Mr A. B. Cook has sought to connect them with the worship of the double axe, and to explain them as (1) he that cleaves with the axe, (2) she that is cleft by the axe, and (I suppose) (3) he to whom the axe is sacred. See A. B. Cook, *Oxford Congress for Hist. Rel.* p. 194.

of a Dioscuric intervention. What then was the battle of Luncarty and why does it become of interest in this investigation?

When Milton was preparing for himself a list of subjects, suitable for possible dramatic or poetical treatment (the jottings of which are preserved among his manuscripts at Trinity College, Cambridge), he took a number of suggestions from the *Scottish history* of Hector Boece, which is printed along with Holinshed's *Chronicles*. Amongst these subjects we find the following:

'*Hay the Ploughman*, who with his two sons at plough, running to the battle that was between the Scots and the Danes in the next field, stayed the flight of his countrymen, etc.' The subject was a very curious one for Milton to have selected, but he was reading Holinshed carefully and no doubt Boece: moreover his interest was especially awakened in the battle of Luncarty; for, as his biographer Masson has shown, his first preceptor, Young, came from the very parish of Luncarty, where the battle was fought. It is easy to infer that the story had impressed him at a very early date. Hay the Ploughman.

It had also impressed Shakespeare, who, as Mr A. B. Cook reminds us, uses it in the fifth Act of *Cymbeline*.

The story of the Battle of Luncarty is summed up in Burke's *Armoury* in connection with the pedigree of Hay (Earl of Errol) as follows: and as we shall have to refer particularly to the coat of arms of the Earls of Errol, which form a basis for part of the legends, or are closely connected with them, I transcribe the Heraldic account, after which we will see what Boece himself says on the matter.

Burke, *Armoury*. Hay (Earl of Errol).

'In the reign of Kenneth III,' says Douglas, about 980, 'the Danes having invaded Scotland were encountered by that king near Loncarty in Perthshire: the Scots at first gave way, and fled through a narrow pass, where they were stopped by a countryman of great strength and courage, and his two sons, with no other weapons than the yokes of their ploughs; upbraiding the fugitives for their cowardice he

succeeded in rallying them; the battle was renewed, and the Danes totally discomfited. It is said that after the victory was obtained the old man lying on the ground wounded and fatigued, cried "Hay, Hay," which word became the surname of his posterity: the king, as a reward of that signal service, gave him as much land in the Corse of Gowrie, as a falcon could fly over before it settled: and a falcon being accordingly let off, flew over an extent of ground six miles in length, afterwards called Erroll, and lighted on a stone, still called Falconstone: the king also assigned three shields or escutcheons for the arms of the family, to intimate that the father and the two sons had been the three fortunate shields of Scotland. This legend, first told by Hector Boece, was invented to explain the arms, which are at least as old as 1292, and in turn suggested the crest, motto and supporters.

Arms. Three escutcheons, gu.

Crest. A Falcon rising ppr.

Supporters: two men in country habits, each holding an ox-yoke over the shoulders.

Motto: Serva Jugum.'

Luncarty in Boece

As intimated above, the story is to be sought in Boece's *Chronicles of Scotland*, to which we now turn.

Book XI. 'This day had been the utter extermination of Scottis, wer not ane landwart man, namit Hay, with his two sons, of strong and rude bodies, howbeit they were of maist nobill curage, come haistelie in support of Kenneth and his nobillis, efter they were neir vincust with their enemies. This Hay, havand na wappinis bot the yok of ane pleuch, and seand the middilward quhair Kenneth was fechtand agains the Danes, nakit of baith the wingis, thocht nathing so honorable as to de vailyentlie amang so many nobill men. Than, wes ane strait passage, nocht far fra the battall, quhare gret noumer of Scottis were slane, miserabillie fleing. This Hay, traisting nathing so guid as to stop the fleing of the Scottis, abaid in this strait passage, with his two sonnis, and slew baith Danes and Scottis quhom he fand fleand, with his yok.....Sic things is done, Kenneth

returnit to the castel of Bertha and commandit this Hay and his sonnis to be clothed with rich claithis and to follow him to the said castel. Bot Hay, nathing desiring thereof, come with his sonnis, in their auld and rusty habit, strinklit with dust and sweit of battal, in the samin manner as they faucht; reddy to do what charges he might, at the king's pleisir.....Hay, accumpanit with huge pepil in this wise, enterit in the King's palice, berand the yok on his shoulders, in the same maner as he faucht agains the Danis.'

Then follows the story of the falcon and the coat of arms.

The sacred oak of Errol.

Mr A. B. Cook shows that this legend of the eponymous ancestor of the Hays of Errol contains in it elements which involve the ancient belief of the connection between men and trees, in the matter of vital sympathy. For there was in former times a wizard oak not far from the Falcon Stone, which delimited the estate of Errol, and with this oak and its mistletoe the fortunes of the Hay family were connected. The legend of the oak is told by John Hay Allen in a note to one of his poems[1] entitled 'Lines written upon coming in sight of the Coast of Scotland.' 'Among the Low Country families the badges are now almost generally forgotten: but it appears by an ancient MS, and the tradition of a few old people in Perthshire, that the badge of the Hays was the mistletoe. There was formerly in the neighbourhood of Errol, and not far from the Falcon Stone, a vast oak of an unknown age, and upon which grew a profusion of the (mistletoe) plant: many charms and legends were connected with the tree, and the duration of the family of Hay was said to be united with its existence. It was believed that a sprig of the mistletoe cut by a Hay on Allhallowmas Eve with a new dirk, and after surrounding the tree three times sun-ways and pronouncing a certain spell, was a sure charm against all glamour or witchery, and an infallible guard in the day of battle. A spray gathered in the same manner was placed in the cradle of infants, and thought to defend them from being changed into elf-bairns by the fairies.

[1] J. H. Allen, *The Bridal of Caolchairn* and other poems, London, 1822, p. 97.

Finally, it was affirmed, that when the root of the oak had perished, "the grass should grow in the hearth of Errol, and a raven should sit in the falcon's nest." The two most unlucky things which could be done by one of the name of Hay, were to kill a white falcon, and to cut down a limb from the oak of Errol. When the old tree was destroyed I never could learn. The estate has been some time sold out of the family of Hay, and of course it is said that the fatal oak was cut down a short time before.'

Upon which legend and associated cult Mr Cook remarks that 'the fortune of the Hays was bound up with an immemorial oak. And the white falcon that haunted the spot was very probably regarded as an ancestral spirit in bird-form.....Both Greeks and Latins connected the mistletoe with the sun: it is *a priori* probable that the insular Celts did the same.....The mistletoe was cut on Allhallowmas Eve from the oak at Errol by a Hay, who surrounded the tree three times sun-ways. We can hardly deny that the cutting of such a plant on such an occasion in such a way had a definitely solar significance.'

In other words, the ritual of the oak at Errol was the survival of the ancient ritual of the European Sky-god, who lived in an oak covered with mistletoe, the plant in which the solar virtue was believed to be concentrated.

Now let us approach the same series of legends from a Dioscuric standpoint, according to which the oak-deity had two assessors, whose closest parallel, if we may judge from Tacitus' account of the Lithuanian religion (of the Naharvali, to be more exact), lies in the worship of Castor and Pollux by the Romans. We have at once the parallel of the old man and his two sons with the Oak-god and his two assessors: then we have the familiar feature of the appearance of the Dioscuri and (in this case) of their sire, when the tide of battle has to be turned; and their sweating and dusty figures in the Scottish legend can be compared with the young horsemen who appeared and washed themselves and their horses at the Fountain of Juturna in the Forum.

But last of all, and most important of all for our purposes,

there is the appearance of the plough among the memories of the day. Boece says the old man fought with his yoke. And the supporters of the Hay coat of arms are two countrymen, each holding an ox-yoke over his shoulders: while the motto 'Serva Jugum' points the same way.

I should imagine that the plough-coulters, or at any rate the ox-goads, were also in evidence: the primitive plough-coulters do not differ much from ox-goads. But whether it was one or both, all the symbols involved are Dioscuric, and belong to those who invented the plough and the yoke.

A suspiciously parallel case occurs in the Book of Judges, when Shamgar, the son of Anath, slays 600 Philistines with an ox-goad[1]. Shamgar a Plough-hero.

Shamgar is, then, a solar hero of the same type as the Hays of Errol. Perhaps his name is an abbreviation for Shamash-garam (Σαμψιγέραμος), of Northern Syria. That he is the son of Anath is clear enough: Anath is the feminine of Anu, the Babylonian Sky-god: she has recently turned up as either a consort or an assessor of Jahu in the Elephantiné Papyri.

We see then that the stories involved have a cyclical element in them: and we conclude that the Hay family have incorporated legends of the holy oak, of the Oak-god and his children in their family history: their coat of arms uses the legend much in the same way as noble families at Rome put the Dioscuri on their coins. Luncarty may be placed, for folk-lore purposes, in the neighbourhood of the Lake Regillus.

There is, however, another close parallel between the Hays of Errol, the Shamgar-story, and the Dioscuri. There is a curious tradition that the Greeks were aided at the Battle of Marathon by an unknown warrior, whose weapon was a ploughshare (*ἄροτρον*). After the fight was won, he mysteriously disappeared, and when the Greeks consulted The Plough-hero at Marathon.

[1] The Hebrew certainly suggests 'ox-goad,' but the LXX interpret 'plough-coulter' (*ἀρατρόποδι τῶν βοῶν*), and Jerome follows them with *vomere*. It seems that the primitive pointed plough and the ox-goad were hardly differentiated. Hence one could fight with a ploughshare, if necessary; it is not so easy to see how to fight with a yoke.

the Oracle at Delphi about him, they could get no information as to who he was, but only an instruction to 'Care for no man at all, but say just this: We praise one helpful man whom we call the holder of the ploughshare.' The story will be found in Pausanias, as follows[1]:

'Now it befell, they say, that in the battle there was present a man *of rustic aspect and dress*, who slaughtered many of the barbarians *with a plough*, and *vanished after the fight*. When the Athenians enquired of the god, the only answer he vouchsafed was to bid them honour the hero Echetlaeus ('Εχετλαῖος).' The name is supposed to be derived from ἐχέτλη, the plough-handle. It seems that this story is a piece of folk-lore, exactly parallel on the one hand to the story of the Hays of Errol (except for the number of persons involved and the substitution of yoke for ploughshare), and to the story of Shamgar (with the variation between ploughshare and ox-goad in the weapon employed): while on the other hand it is Dioscuric in character on account of the mysterious and anonymous intervention of the strangely armed warrior, whose weapon is itself one of the Dioscuric symbols, and his equally mysterious disappearance. For the latter point we may compare what Dionysius of Halicarnassus says of the appearance of the Twins after the Battle of the Lake Regillus. The crowd that gathered round the pool of Juturna enquired if they brought news from the camp. They related to them how the day had gone, and that the Romans won. Then they withdrew from the Forum, and were seen no more, though the governor left in charge of the city caused diligent search to be made for them[2].

The abruptness of their withdrawal is brought out by Macaulay in his *Battle of the Lake Regillus*; who describes their disappearance thus:

> 'They washed their horses in the well
> That springs by Vesta's fane,
> And straight again they mounted,
> And rode to Vesta's door:
> Then like a blast, away they passed,
> And no man saw them more.'

[1] Paus. I. 32, 3 (tr. Frazer).

[2] Cf. Dion. *Antiq. Rom.* VI. 13.

We have the same abrupt disappearance in the account of the battle at the Sagras, where the Dioscuri took the side of the Locrians[1].

In the Marathon legend we have an earlier and humbler conception of the Dioscuri than in the Roman story. Between the stage where the Dioscure could be a ploughman and fight with his plough-coulter, and the time when he was a splendid horseman and used a spear, there is a wide space of evolutionary history. Even in India, the horse stage was not reached before the time of Eukratides when, as the coins show, the riding knights came back from the West: in the old time they drove chariots: before they drove chariots, they drove the plough. But the stages of the popular belief are all closely linked, Marathon with Luncarty, and both of them with the Lake Regillus.

Our next instance of the connection of the Heavenly Twins with the plough shall be taken from the early Christian literature. It has been shown that in certain quarters, there was a belief that the Apostle Thomas, whose name means twin, was the twin-brother of Jesus.

Twin-cult in Edessa.

This belief was especially strongly held in the old Syrian church of Edessa, which city was the centre of a heathen cult of the Sun and the Heavenly Twins, the two latter being probably identified with the Morning and Evening Stars. The reasons for this surprising statement are largely drawn from the *Acts of Thomas*, the mythical founder of the Edessan Church: and these Acts, which are of Syrian origin, make Thomas play the part of the double of Jesus, in all kinds of peculiar situations, and they make Jesus and Thomas do many things which can at once be explained if they were looked on as Dioscures; moreover on several occasions, Thomas is definitely addressed as the Twin of the Messiah. For the proofs and elaboration of this theme, I must refer to my two tracts, the *Dioscuri in Christian Legend*, and the *Cult of the Heavenly Twins*: but we must not suppose that

Jesus and Thomas.

[1] Justin xx. 3, 'pugnare visi sunt, nec ultra apparuerunt, quam pugnatum est.'

the belief is limited to a single Church, planted in a centre where Twin-worship was rife as a part of a solar cult. The Roman Breviary itself is in evidence for the belief, and contains sentences for St Thomas' day which, in their uncorrected form, tell us plainly that Thomas is the twin-brother of Jesus. These sentences in the Breviary can be traced back to St Isidore of Seville, and it is quite possible that they may be ultimately due to the westerly migration of the *Acts of Thomas*. Even if this should turn out to be the case, it appears as if a long time had elapsed before the statements in question were recognised as heretical. And this naturally leads to the belief that the gulf in theological thought between the far East and the near West was not so deep as might, at first sight, be imagined.

When we turn to the opening sentences of the *Acts of Thomas*, we have the well-known situation where Jesus sends Thomas to preach in India; and after some opposition on the part of Thomas (who, by the way, is always Judas Thomas in the Acts), Jesus sells him as a slave to an Indian merchant named Habban, who had been commissioned to King Gundaphar to bring him a skilful carpenter.

As soon as Habban had got Judas on board ship, he proceeds to interrogate him:

'What is thy art that thou art skilled in practising?'

And Judas replies: 'Carpentering and architecture:.....the business of the carpenter.'

Habban enquires further:

'What dost thou know to make in wood, and what in hewn stone?'

Judas Thomas makes ploughs and yokes.

And Judas replies: 'In wood and stone I have learned to make *ploughs and yokes and ox-goads*; and oars for ferry-boats, and masts for ships: and in stone, tombstones and monuments and temples and palaces for kings.'

'Just the sort of man I want,' says Habban, who is thinking of the commission with which he has been entrusted by King Gundaphar, who has the building of a new palace in mind.

When they arrive in India, the same catechism is repeated

by King Gundaphar, who is very well pleased with the recapitulation of Judas Thomas' qualifications.

Now these qualifications are characteristic of the Dioscuri. I have shown that one of their early Greek titles was Lapersai, or stone-workers, and legend has been busy with their names in this connection by making them the founders and builders of famous cities. Take for example, the building of Thebes by Zethos and his twin-brother Amphion[1]. But if we credit the Dioscuri with the art of the architect and the building of temples and cities, we must remember that in the earliest times the art of the architect was not differentiated from that of the carpenter. The man who could work in wood could also build a house. The τεχνίτης and the δημιουργός of the city could be one and the same person[2].

We see some consciousness of this unity of function in the *Acts of Thomas*, where it is not thought strange that Thomas should know how to make oars for a boat, and at the same time to design and build a king's palace.

Judas Thomas a Dioscure.

It appears, then, that the skill of Judas Thomas is expressed in terms that are absolutely Dioscuric. Even the reference to the equipment of a boat or a ship goes back into the early belief that the Twins were the patrons of navigation and of sailors. The reasons for this belief have already been pointed out.

Now let us look again at the qualifications of Judas the Twin when he is sent to India: the first statement that he makes concerns his ability to make ploughs, yokes, and ox-goads. If, on other grounds, the general qualifications of Judas have enabled us to recognise him as a Dioscure, or Heavenly Twin, then we are entitled to include these special qualifications in the Dioscuric equipment: thus we say that in certain districts, notably at Edessa, the Heavenly Twins were the patrons of agriculture, and the inventors of ploughs, yokes, and ox-goads. These three implements go together; we have already pointed out that the ox-goad is, in primitive

[1] Amphion, as stated, = Twin.

[2] *Ep. ad Heb.* xi. 10.

times, merely the ploughshare detached: it is very nearly so, to-day, in the East: and ploughing began as an art, when men had learned how to harness and yoke cattle. So the three inventions really belong together, and the Twins, including Thomas, are credited with the manufacture of them.

Now let us turn to a curious statement made by Justin Martyr.

In the 88th chapter of Justin's *Dialogue with Trypho*, we find as follows:

Jesus made ploughs and yokes.

'When Jesus came to the Jordan, and was supposed to be the son of Joseph the Carpenter and appeared without comeliness, as the Scriptures had foretold of him, and was supposed to be a carpenter (for these works of a carpenter were wrought by him when he was among men, namely, *ploughs and yokes*, by which he taught the symbols of righteousness and the strenuous life), at that time, and for the sake of men, as I said before, the Holy Spirit fluttered down upon him in the form of a dove, etc.'

Here we have a definite statement that Jesus was a carpenter, and that he made ploughs and yokes. Now this statement is very important, (1) because of its antiquity, (2) because it goes beyond our canonical gospels, which say nothing of Jesus Christ's carpentering beyond the bare admission of the fact, and usually do not go beyond the statement that he was believed to be the son of a carpenter, (3) because it is definite to such a degree that it must at least incorporate a tradition. Possibly, though this is a mere speculation, Justin is here using an uncanonical gospel, as he certainly is when he describes the 'fluttering down' of the Holy Spirit, which recurs elsewhere, and may, perhaps, be due to the influence of the Gospel according to the Hebrews.

Whatever the origin of the statement, it is significant. Something like it can be traced elsewhere in the Apocryphal *Gospel of Thomas*, where the incident of Christ's helping Joseph to make a wooden bed is introduced by the statement, 'His father was a carpenter and was occupied at that time in the manufacture of *ploughs and yokes*': a statement which

must be compared with that of Justin, and may come from the very same source.

Another reason for believing that the statement and the words in which it is expressed, do not come from Justin's own brain, lies in the fact that, when casually mentioning them, he throws in a bit of mystical commentary, which betrays the fact that what he is giving us is text that has already been used for purposes of edification. Justin, then, has given us a tradition which was probably extant in writing.

But this tradition credits Jesus with the same occupation with which the *Acts of Thomas* credit Judas Thomas. We can hardly prove Thomas, then, to be a Dioscure, without admitting that Jesus also was believed, in some quarters of the East, to be also a Dioscure. For, on the one hand, the *Acta Thomae* make Jesus to be Thomas' twin-brother, and, on the other hand, the Apocryphal Evangelical tradition makes Jesus do the same things that Judas Thomas the Dioscure does.

Probably, then, over a wider area than the principality of Osrhoene, or the city and suburbs of Edessa, Jesus was included with Thomas under the title of the Heavenly Twins.

CHAPTER XXIV

SOME FURTHER LIGHT ON THE TWIN-CULT AT EDESSA

OUR last chapter brought us back again to Edessa; and it seems reasonable before we take up the further study of the Aryan Dioscurism in Europe, that we should throw some additional light on the nature of the Twin-cult in Edessa.

That Edessa was a twin-centre has been proved in a number of ways; they may be classified as follows:

Twin-cult in Edessa.

(1) The *Acts of Thomas*, an undoubtedly Syriac composition, probably composed in Edessa, have represented Jesus and Thomas as twin brothers on the model of the Dioscuri. It is reasonable to conclude that this presentation is due to the historical fact that in Edessa Jesus and Thomas displaced the Dioscuri as objects of worship in certain circles.

Morning and Evening Stars Twins.

(2) This agrees with archaeological and other evidence which makes Edessa the home of a Solar cult, in which the sun was adored, along with two assessors named Monim and Aziz. Monim and Aziz have been, on good grounds, identified with the Morning and Evening Stars, considered as twin-stars by the ancients.

(3) The numismatic evidence from Edessa shows constant recurrence of the two stars referred to in the foregoing, in a manner which reminds one of the stars attached to the Dioscuri in coins of Asia Minor or of Rome.

(4) The most conspicuous monument in Edessa to-day is a pair of lofty pillars standing on the edge of the Acropolis, one of which bears an inscription that it was made in honour

of Princess Shalmath and refers to a carving upon the shaft (now cut away by Moslem hands), which has been conjectured to have been a representation of the Twins.

In the present chapter, I propose to make a re-statement of the first two points, and to leave the numismatic and existing archaeological evidence on one side for the present. Those who wish to study the problem of the twin pillars[1] will find the material collected in my two previous books, *Dioscuri* and *Cult*, to which must be added Prof. Burkitt's treatment of the subject in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archeology*. Prof. Burkitt does not think the twins are specified in the inscription. It would be a good thing if some excavation could be made at the base of the columns in order to find the fragments of the destroyed carving, as well as to determine whether the pillars have always stood isolated, or whether they are the remains of an ancient temple. As I am not able, at present, to undertake this enquiry, it seems best to let the matter of the pillars stand over for a while.

As to the numismatic evidence, there is some slight confusion owing to the occurrence of a star and crescent, as well as of the two stars, on Edessan monies. I have no doubt myself that as the planet Venus, originally considered as a pair of twin-stars, was an object of Edessan worship, that the same instinct which represents upon Eastern coinages the chief symbols of their religion, would operate in Edessa to the representation of the Morning and Evening Stars: but as we are going to discuss this star-cult on another line of research, I am disposed to leave it on one side for the present, so far as the numismatic evidence is concerned. The numismatics of Dioscurism is a very wide subject. We now propose to make a brief re-statement of the fundamental Dioscurism of the *Acts of Thomas*, and then to discuss the hypothesis of the worship of the Morning and the Evening Star.

[1] In which connection the pillars (Jachin and Boaz) in Solomon's Temple must not be forgotten, nor the similar pillars in the temple at Paphos, and elsewhere, nor the pillars set up at Antioch by Tiberius in honour of Zethos and Amphion.

The *Acts of Thomas* are Syriac in origin.

The *Acts of Thomas* are, as we have said, a Syriac composition. The evidence is cumulative, and, I believe, irresistible. The very first page would show it to the eye of an expert scholar, who compared the Syriac text with the Greek. In the Syriac, Judas Thomas is introduced as sold away by his master to go to India with an Indian merchant, in order to build a palace for King Gundaphar. One of the qualifications of the slave who has been sold, turns out to be his ability to work in wood, and especially to make *ploughs and yokes*. We have already been discussing in a previous chapter the invention of *ploughs and yokes* by the Dioscuri, and have given striking parallels from sacred and profane literature.

The Greek translator of the Acts, however, not understanding the connection between ploughs and yokes, has interpreted the Syriac word for yokes by a double translation, and has advertised Thomas accordingly as a maker of *ploughs and yokes and balances*! The mistake has been widely followed, as in the Ethiopic *Contendings of the Apostles*, by versions of the story which follow the Greek. It obscures the meaning of the tale at the very start to have such an introduction of the balance along with the yoke[1].

In the same way it can be seen that the Syriac version must be assumed to be the original, if we are to explain how later correctors have got rid of the undoubted statements of the Acts as to the twinship of Jesus and Thomas. This twinship is affirmed both in the Syriac which calls Thomas the Twin of the Messiah, and in the Greek which addresses him as *ὁ δίδυμος τοῦ χριστοῦ*. But when the statement is corrected away, we find in the Greek an expression like the *Abyss of the Messiah*, which has no relation whatever to the Greek word Didymus, but is the very slightest modification for the Syriac word for Twin (*Tehoma* for *Tauma*). It follows from this that our Greek *Acts of Thomas* are derived from a Syriac original, in which the process had already begun of removing the offensive relation between Judas Thomas and his master.

[1] See further on this in Additional Notes.

One or two simple instances like these will throw into relief the dependence of the Greek upon the Syriac, and closer and continuous examination will abundantly confirm the hypothesis. This does not mean that the Greek text can never be right as against the Syriac: here as in the New Testament itself, the version will sometimes be found to justify itself against the original language. We are dealing, then, with a document composed in some early Syrian Church.

Thomas chosen as apostle of India.

The story opens with the statement that Judas Thomas is chosen by lot for the Apostolate of India, when the known world is divided up among the twelve disciples. The division of the world in this way for aggressive religious work is parallel to the astrological division of the world under the twelve signs of the Zodiac: and I have shown reason for believing that the reason why Judas Thomas, the Twin, got India as his portion is because, astrologically, India lies under the spell of the sign Gemini. If that should be the case, we start with the Dioscuri in the very opening sentences, and have the key in our hands at the start for the elucidation of the Acts. I stated the case as follows in *Dioscuri*, p. 40.

'If we turn to the article on the Zodiac in the *Encyclopedia Britannica* (ed. IX), we shall find the following statement:

'The influence of the signs, though secondary, was overmastering: India called them *θεῶν δυνάμεις*, and they were the objects of a corresponding veneration. Cities and kingdoms were allotted to their parentage on a system fully expounded by Manilius:

> Hos erit in fines orbis pontusque notandus,
> Quem Deus in partes per singula dividit astra,
> Ac sua cuique dedit tutelae regna per orbem
> Et proprias gentes atque urbes addidit altas,
> In quibus exercent praestantia sidera vires.
>
> Manil. *Astron.* IV. 696.

'Syria was assigned to Aries, and Syrian coins frequently bear the image of a ram: Scythia and Arabia fell to Taurus, *India to Gemini*.'

Here, then, we have the explanation of Thomas' supposed

journey to India. It is a subordination of the ecclesiastical division of the world to the astrological.

The story, then, opens with a Dioscuric allusion; Judas Thomas is, as we say, a Dioscure. He proceeds to tell us the same in the opening chapter. After he has made passionate protests against being sent to India, our Lord sells him right away to an Indian merchant named Habban, and as soon as they are on board ship, at Jaffa or at Caesarea, Judas explains to Habban that he can make instruments of wood, and buildings of stone; ploughs and yokes and ox-goads, and the furniture of ships and pontoons, oars and masts; and in stone, tombs, temples, and palaces. We have already pointed out the relation of the Heavenly Twins to the agriculture and navigation of antiquity: the building of stone monuments and edifices is also one of the well-known Greek characteristics of the Twins; nor could Judas have more clearly said that he was one of the Heavenly Twins, short of using the actual title. Thus the opening of the book is conclusive as to the motive that underlies it: the writer's mask is off in the very first sentences.

The book is then arranged for us in a series of dramatic Acts, in which Judas, with the assistance of Jesus, who is accompanying his disciple, unseen, from place to place, does notable thaumaturgy, casting out devils and raising the dead. The last and longest of these Acts appears to me to be a later edition to the book; it contains the account of the conversion of Mygdonia, the wife of a general of King Mazdai, under the preaching of Judas Thomas. The piece is allegorical, and transparent: for Mygdonia is the name of the district of which Nisibis is the centre, the river of Nisibis being called by the same name; and Nisibis was both ecclesiastically and politically the battle-ground between the West and the East for many a day. The conversion of Mygdonia stands for the conversion of Nisibis, which is attributed to Judas Thomas: King Mazdai representing, for the purposes of the allegorist, the Persian religion.

The conversion of Mygdonia — Nisibis.

Now I think it will be found that every one of these *Acts of Thomas* has the Dioscuric mark on it; that is, in

every one we shall be reminded that Jesus and Judas are twins, being exactly alike, and mistaken constantly the one for the other; or we shall find that Judas is addressed as the Twin of the Messiah, or spoken of as the brother of the Messiah; or in some way the Dioscuric emphasis is laid upon the story.

Jesus and Judas at a Wedding.

The opening story is very significant: Judas and his master land at a city, where a marriage is being made by a king for his son; and after a series of preliminary adventures, Judas is invited by the king to come to the marriage chamber and pray for a blessing on the young couple. It needs but a very slight acquaintance with the tradition of the Twins to realise that the presidency of the Bridechamber and the Birthchamber is amongst the most widely diffused of Dioscuric honours. We have already made frequent allusion to the part which twins play in marriage ceremonies, down to our own time and in our own country: so that if we are to understand the opening Act of the series called *Acts of Thomas*, we must read the matter in a Dioscuric light. As we have said, the writer never loses sight of this motive in the whole of his work. If we remove the twins from the fabric of the story, by erasing whatever is naturally explained by Dioscuric motives, the composition will be reduced to a heap of meaningless shreds. The *Acts of Thomas* are fundamentally Dioscuric. Perhaps that will be sufficient at this point. I hope to deal with it again, more at length, in an introduction which I am planning to write for the Acts in question.

Monim and Aziz the Edessan Twins.

Now let us pass on to the question of the two sub-solar deities of Edessa, Monim and Aziz. As we have already said, Edessa is a meeting point of races and of religions; it is so to-day; here the Arab, the Armenian and the Syrian meet; and such a conjunction occurred in ancient times, when the early Greek colonists were mixed with the Syrians and the Parthians, and when one whole quarter of the city appears to have been occupied by Jews. Such a situation in early days was very favourable to religious syncretism.

Our first enquiry relates to the names, Monim and

Aziz. Aziz has a very Arabian appearance, and is still a common Arabian (and hence Turkish) name; it means *strong, mighty.*

'Aziz = 'Uzza = Venus.

Can this be the name of either the Morning Star or the Evening Star? The name is very like that of the goddess Al-'Uzza, which was worshipped at Mecca, against whom Mohammed rails in his 53rd Sura. Mohammed had himself in early days sacrificed to 'Uzza, the daughter of Allah, according to the Moslem traditions. Now Isaac of Antioch, writing in the first half of the fifth century, bears witness to the worship of 'Uzza [Uzzi] by the Arabs of that period, so that we do not need to go all the way to Mecca in search of her[1]. In another passage Isaac *identifies 'Uzza with the planet Venus*[2]. Now this is very important, for we are further informed that the Arabs swore by the two 'Uzzas, 'presumably referring to (the planet) Venus as the morning and as the evening star.' It is a case of swearing by twins! May we, then, consider 'Aziz as an equivalent of the Arabian 'Uzza?

Here is an interesting piece of further evidence, in the commentary of 'Isho'dad on Acts vii. 43, we find as follows:

'Instead of Saturn your image, the Hebrew and Greek say, *the star of your god Refan.* The name of Refan is

[1] Isaac of Antioch (Bickell's translation), I. 210, 211:

Nec incolumem servaverunt eum Persae,
qui cum ipsis solem adorat,
nec pepercerunt ei Arabes,
quia Uzzim sacrificiis cum ipsis colit:

see also pp. 220, 221:

(Arabes) pueros et puellas
Stellae Veneris immolaverunt:

and pp. 246, 247:

Huic stellae Veneris sacrificia obtulerunt
tribus Hagarenorum...postquam autem
mulieres Arabum solem justitiae cognoverunt,
renuntiaverunt stellae illi Veneris, quam
inani spe coluerant. Onagri illi se jugo
subjecerunt.

[2] Nöldeke in *R.E.* I. 660. We shall also find traces of 'Uzza in Petra: for example, in Dalman's collection of inscriptions from Petra (*Neue Petra-Forschungen*, p. 96) we have in No. 85, 'These are the millstones of El 'Uzza and of the Lord of the House which Wahbullatu, the caravan-guide, the son of Zaidān, has made.'

Egyptian; but Refan and Kewan and Kronos and the star Venus, are the same. *What some say of 'Uzza is declared not to be true, because 'Uzza and Nanaea and Balthi and Astarte and the Morning Star are the same.'*

The passage requires a slight correction. 'Isho'dad has an elliptical way of introducing matter, and of refuting statements, which is often perplexing: and he does not always tell us from what author he is quoting. In the first half of the passage he has wrongly placed the words 'and the planet Venus,' which clearly belong at the end: and this much is evident, that he has definitely identified the Arabian 'Uzza with the Morning Star, conceived of as feminine. We may add this testimony to what precedes from Isaac of Antioch.

It is probable, then, that Aziz stands for either the Morning Star or the Evening Star at Edessa.

It is also probable that this Arab name may have a close relative in the Hebrew Uzzah and Uzziah, commonly explained as *Jahu is my strength*, but equally capable of interpretation as *'Uzza is Jahu* (compare such names as Hadad-Rimmon, Anat-Jahu etc.).

It should further be noted that Nöldeke has offered an explanation through the two 'Uzzas, of the *'two pillars* or obelisks...smeared with blood, which appear in connection with human sacrifices offered by a king of Hira.' It is possible, then, that Aziz may stand for the planet Venus, and answer to the Greek φωσφόρος or ἕσπερος. Two Uzzas in Arabia.

What of the other name, Monim? Can that be explained on Arabic analogies?

In Hippolytus, *Philosophumena*, Bk VIII., we have the refutation of a heretic named Μονόϊμος; this must be the same name as we are discussing; and we note that he is significantly called Μονόϊμος ὁ Ἄραψ, *Monoïmos the Arabian*; we must, then, allow that we have found the name Monim in an Arabic form, slightly different from the spelling as given above. From Monoïmos we remove the case-ending, and we see that the initial *m* is a participial prefix, and that a root-letter has disappeared between *o* and *i*.

This suggests an exact transliteration in one of the forms

מנחים
or
מנעים

writing Hebrew characters instead of Arabic or Syriac, for convenience. Of these forms, the second appears to be preferable, on the ground that the form מנעם and the Greek forms Μόνιμος, Μόνεμος, Μόνημος were found amongst the Safaite inscriptions (see Dussaud, *Missions dans les régions désertiques de la Syrie Moyenne*, Nos. 35, 220, etc.). Dussaud explains (p. 58) that, in accordance with the above spelling, and the theory of Arabic influence, the name Monimos (Moun'im) means 'the good,' 'the benevolent.'

Aziz and Monim are Arabic.

Thus both the names Monimos and Aziz may be of Arabian origin, and in that case we must refer them to Arabic influence wherever, as in Edessa, Palmyra, Baalbec or elsewhere, they can be recognised in the monuments or the inscriptions.

We see, then, that Edessa has religiously been Arabised at some period in its history: in fact, the very name (Abgar) of its ruling dynasty can be found amongst the inscriptions from which we were just now quoting.

It is natural to ask what were the names of the Twins, or of the Morning and Evening Stars, before this Arabic influence was in operation, or amongst the Babylonians or the Greeks. With regard to their possible Parthian names, it is natural to suggest that the key is to be sought in the interpretation of Cautes and Cautopates, the names of the two figures on the Mithra monuments; but this is still an unsolved riddle. For the Babylonian forms, we shall suggest that they were originally known as the Ishtar-Nebo or the two Nebos; and last of all, we shall suggest that in Hellenising circles the Morning and Evening Stars were known in Edessa by the name of Paracletes (a mysterious term preserved for us in the New Testament).

The last of these statements, if established, will be of the highest interest; for, as is well known, the Johannine

writings speak of two Paracletes of Christian Theology[1]. We should thus discover in the Fourth Gospel a new Dioscuric statement framed on a different line from the Edessan twin-ship of Jesus and Judas Thomas (and perhaps meant to avoid that suggestion), namely, that the real Paracletes or Divine Assessors are Jesus and the Holy Spirit.

Are they the Two Paracletes?

We may present the suggested parallels to the eye as follows:

There are two Paracletes	who are Monoïm and Aziz	who are the two 'Uzzas,
One of whom is the Morning Star and the other, by consequence, the Evening Star.	suspected to be the Morning and Evening Stars.	one of whom is identified with the Morning Star; and the other, by consequence, with the Evening Star.

At this point our incomplete argument has to face some objections: for according to Julian (*Orat.* IV. p. 195), who took a great interest in Edessa on account of its Solar worship, the Edessenes worshipped along with the Sun two *πάρεδροι* named Monim and Aziz. These assessors he identifies with Hermes and Ares respectively[2]. He admits that he makes this identification on the faith of Jamblichus, and Cumont points out, in an article on the Mithra-cult in Edessa[3], that it is merely a hasty Neo-Platonic identification on the part of Jamblichus.

A little further on in the same Oration (p. 200) Julian informs us that Ares (the Aziz of Jamblichus) is said by the Edessenes to march in front, or be the herald of the Sun[4], which, if we leave Ares out of account, means that

[1] John xiv. 16, 'Another Paraclete,' and 1 John ii. 1, 'We have a Paraclete.' In this connection it may, perhaps, be lawful to quote also John xvi. 7 ('If I go not away, the Paraclete will not come; if I go away, I will send him to you'). See further on p. 263 for the identification.

[2] l.c. *οἱ τὴν Ἔδεσσαν οἰκοῦντες, ἱερὸν ἐξ αἰῶνος Ἡλίου χωρίον, Μόνιμον αὐτῷ καὶ Ἄζιζον συγκαθεδρεύουσιν, αἰνίττεσθαί, φησιν, Ἰάμβλιχος...ὡς ὁ μὲν Μόνιμος Ἑρμῆς εἴη, Ἄζιζος δὲ Ἄρης, Ἡλίου πάρεδροι, πολλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ τῷ περὶ γῆν ἐποχετεύοντες.*

[3] Cumont, in *Revue Archéologique*, 1888, pp. 95 sqq.

[4] *Ἄρης, Ἄζιζος λεγόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκούντων τὴν Ἔδεσσαν Σύρων Ἡλίου προπομπεύει.*

Aziz is the Morning Star, and confirms our previous explanation.

Cumont, after clearing away the difficulty introduced by Jamblichus, comes to the conclusion that Monim and Aziz are to be identified with the Morning and Evening Stars, and with the torch-bearers upon the monuments of Mithras.

At this point I think we may take the matter up for a closer consideration, for there is room for more to be said on the subject, probably from the standpoint of ancient Babylonian and Arabian astronomy. Very possibly we have to start from an astronomy, which has for its principal figures the Sun, the Moon, and the Hesper-Phosphor dyad. These deities vary in sex, being sometimes male, and sometimes female, as we work from Babylonian, Old Arabic, or Syrian material.

Evolution of astronomy.

Let us first imagine to ourselves what the evolution of astral deities is likely to have been in ancient Babylonia or Arabia, and then compare the hypothetical evolution with the recorded facts as disclosed by the monuments and the literature.

Mercury late.

It is clear that such an insignificant planet as Mercury can never have occupied a place in the first astral pantheon. It is difficult to observe, so difficult, that very few, of ordinary people, have ever seen it: and I believe this has been stated to be the experience of so great an astronomer as Copernicus; but, even if seen, it is rarely seen, and is inconspicuous, and it can therefore hardly have had a place in the first astral pantheon, or, indeed, a prominent place in any pantheon.

On the other hand, the planet Venus is one of the most conspicuous objects in the heavens, and was certain to have religious attention, after the Sun and the Moon.

Venus regarded as double.

More than that, it is practically certain that the first observers did not know that the Morning Venus was the same as the Evening Venus, and they commonly explained their similarity by the idea that they were twins, the assessors or heralds of the Sun: it will follow from this that

the first stage of the astral worship was inclusive of three heavenly bodies disguised as four, viz. the Sun, the Moon and Hesper-Phosphor, a triad regarded as a tetrad: and, as we have said, from this triad it will be a long stage to a subsequent tetrad, if the next addition to the astral pantheon is to be the planet Mercury.

Is Nebo originally Mercury?

Here, then, we begin to ask for verifications: and at first we run our heads against a flat contradiction; for it is certain that in the ordinary Babylonian astronomy the planet Mercury is represented by Nebo, and Nebo as a god is anything but insignificant, nor are there any signs of his being a later acquisition to the company. When, therefore, we say that the nature of the case requires the absence of Mercury, the reply is that Mercury is there; and when we say that Mercury must, in any case, be of slight importance, we have to face the fact that Mercury is of great importance, for he is Nebo or Nabu, the companion of the great god Bel.

Or is he the planet Venus?

How is this contradiction to be met, unless by the assumption that the name of Nabu has been transferred to the planet Mercury from some more prominent star? It is natural to suggest that behind the Babylonian tetrad

Sun, Moon, Ishtar and Nabu

there lay a triad

Sun, Moon, and Ishtar-Nabu,

where the divine son and daughter have been found in the twin Morning and Evening Star, so that if Nebo is the Morning Star, Ishtar is the Evening Star, or conversely. In order to verify this hypothesis, we may turn to the astronomy of the ancient Arabian kingdoms; we have already had reason to suspect that the Meccans worshipped the Evening Star as Al'Uzza, or as the 'Uzzas; and this naturally suggests that we should examine the theology of the ancient Minaean and Sabaean kingdoms, of which so many valuable and early monuments have been recovered by Bent, Glaser, and others. Here is an important statement in Nielsen's book on the

Mercury not known in Early Arabia.

Moon-religion of early Arabia: 'In the Minaean and Sabaean theologies *Mercury is eliminated and the four divinities have become three*[1].' Again: 'Venus, instead of being feminine, as is usually the case, is masculine, and Mercury is eliminated.'

It would be more correct to say, not that Mercury has been eliminated, but that it has not yet been introduced: and that the three divinities, which appear as four, have not yet become four in reality.

Thus the common form of enumeration of deities in Southern Arabia[2] involves three or four objects of worship: the following is a typical group:

The Moon (masc.),
The Sun (fem.),
and 'Athtar (= Ishtar) (masc.),

to which the people of Hadramaut add *Ḥaul*, whom Hommel identifies with Mercury, and the Katabanians add *Anbaj*, who is clearly parallel to the Babylonian *Nabiu*, except that his name has a suspiciously plural appearance about it, and may be taken to represent Mercury, or perhaps a pair of transferred Nebos from another place.

Evolution of S. Arabian astronomy.

From the S. Arabian peoples, then, we learn how the astronomical evolution took place. It began with Sun and Moon, as amongst the Babylonians, where the Sun is male and the Moon female, or with the Moon (male) and Sun (female), as amongst the Arabs from Ḥarran to the Indian Ocean: to this pair were added two sons of the primal pair: they must have been sons because even Ishtar is male in Southern Arabia, and they were perhaps known as the two Nebos. The name Nabu is closely related to the Arabic for prophet (*naby*), and means in this connection the herald of the Sun. Both Mercury and Venus have the appellation

[1] Nielsen, *Die altarabische Mond-religion*, p. 22.

[2] For Northern Arabia we have the Teima Inscription, which again has three astral deities (see Lidzbarski, *Handbuch der Nordsemitischen Epigraphik*, pp. 445, 447). This inscription is referred to the fifth century before Christ.

Dilbat[1], which, according to Jensen[2], has the same heraldic force. It appears, then, that Jamblichus was not altogether wrong when he identified the Edessan twins with Ares and Hermes; he was right as regards Hermes, for Hermes is the conventional equivalent of Nebo: he was wrong about Ares, and ignorant, as ourselves until lately, that Nebo as Mercury was a displacement.

Nebo a displaced god in Babylonia.

This theory of the gradual development of the planetary astronomy of the Babylonians, helps us to understand a curious neglect of the god Nebo, which went on in the time of Hammurabi. As Jastrow points out[3], Hammurabi exalts Marduk and depreciates Nebo; in fact, he seems to ignore the latter deity, and appears to transfer his title, *nabiu Anu* (the herald of Anu), to the former god. This is perfectly intelligible, if it was found out in Hammurabi's time that the two heralds were one and the same. Ishtar retains one of the Nebo dignities, the other goes begging: it is transferred at first to Marduk, and ultimately is given to the smallest of the planets.

When we have recognised that changes have occurred in the names of the planets, as well as in their sexes and relative rank, we are able to connect our new results with what went before, when we explained the equivalence of Monim and Aziz with the Morning and Evening Stars, with the 'Uzzas of Arabic tradition, and with the Paracletes of the New Testament: for we can connect Nebo and the Paraclete directly from the pages of the New Testament itself.

Nebo as the Paraclete.

Barnabas as Bar-Nebo.

It will be remembered that when Barnabas is reported in the Acts of the Apostles[4] to have joined the Apostolic company, something occurred with regard to his name: there can be little doubt that Barnabas stands for an original Bar-

[1] For Venus as *Dilbat* and as the *Herald* (Nabu), see R. Brown, *Primitive Constellations*, II. 96 from *W.A.I.* v. xlvi. 201:

Kakkab Dil-bat | Na-ba-at. Kakkabu.

The planet Venus | She announces (=the Proclaimer). A star(-name).

Again on p. 217 (from *W.A.I.* II. xlix. No. 4):

Kakkab Nabi ('The Star of the Proclaimer')=Venus.

[2] Jensen, *Kosmologie*, pp. 71, 98, 117–33.

[3] *Die Religionen Babyloniens und Assyriens*, I. 119.

[4] Acts iv. 36.

Nabu, and that the name is of pagan origin[1]. The explanation is, however, given that the Apostles called him Barnabas, i.e. *υἱὸς τῆς παρακλήσεως*, *a son of Paraclesis*, or *son of consolation*, or *son of exhortation*. Now it stands to reason that they never called him anything of the kind; what they did was to modify the heathen connotation of his name, and make it ecclesiastically decent. See how close they came to actually calling him a *son of the Paraclete*. Thus the Acts of the Apostles help us in our previous identification of the Paraclete with one or other of the Hesper-Phosphor pair. Now if this argument is substantially correct, it follows that the original meaning of Paraclete is not *Comforter* but *Herald*, *Prophet* (*Nabi*), or, one might almost say, *Forerunner*.

Paraclete = Herald.

Strange as the foregoing suggestion of the twin-ship of Jesus and the Holy Spirit may at first sight appear, there is evidence that the belief was current in Gnostic circles. In the *Pistis Sophia* (ed. Schwartz and Petermann, p. 77) the Virgin Mary explains to Jesus that the prophecy in the Psalm about the meeting of mercy and truth had been fulfilled in him, when yet a child, before the Spirit came upon him, when occupied in the vineyard with Joseph. 'The Spirit came from on high, entered my house in thy likeness, and I knew him not, supposing him to be thyself: and the Spirit said to me, Where is Jesus my brother?' The Virgin then binds the Spirit-child to the bed, and goes out in search of Joseph and Jesus. When they return, the similarity of the two children is evident! So the Gnostics of the *Pistis Sophia* have preserved for us the peculiar form of Twin-belief which we have been discussing.

Jesus and the Holy Spirit in the *Pistis Sophia*.

[1] It is actually found on a Palmyrene Inscription: see De Vogüé, *Syrie Centrale*, no. 73.

CHAPTER XXV

FURTHER TRACES OF THE TWINS IN ARABIA AND IN PALESTINE

THE foregoing chapter was almost entirely concerned with elementary Eastern Astronomy; it stated how the first students of the skies, and the first worshippers of the heavenly bodies, evolved their pantheon gradually out of a primitive nucleus, and with primitive misunderstandings. A great deal has become clear to us from the recognition of the fact that the early observers revered the Morning Star and the Evening Star as a pair of twins. Thus, when the idealised twin-brethren appear in the visible heaven, they do not appear as a constellation, or as a sign of the Zodiac, but as a single misunderstood planet. It may, however, be asked whether this widespread duplication of the planet Venus is necessarily connected with a twin-cult on the earth-plane, such as we have traced from its first gross forms among the African savages. It will not be easy to answer such a question right off, because we have not yet been able to investigate the twin-cult for ancient Babylonia, or ancient Arabia, nor is it at all easy to make such an investigation apart from the religion or the astronomy of the peoples involved. We can, however, say that just as the African cults emerge into a cult of the Sky-god and his twin-children, and in that emergence become parallel to what we know of early Greek and Roman religion, so amongst the Babylonians and the Arabians we have the same Sky-parentage, either in the form of Anu, the Sky-god, or in the variant forms of

the Sun-god, or the Moon-god, according as either of the latter acquires the more prominent position: so that there is nothing against the belief, and there is analogy for the belief, that a human twin-cult may underlie the worship of the great Semitic peoples: and if we find traces of the Sky-god as a tree-god, and of his twin-children associated with a cult of holy trees or birds, we shall be able to connect together the various forms in which the cult appears, and in the end be certain that Twins, whether Indian, Semitic, or Germanic, or Celtic, or Graeco-Roman, do all derive their dignity from an aboriginal terror, such as that which we have been studying in the previous pages.

The Thunder-bird in Arabia.

Suppose we make an enquiry into the existence of the Thunder-bird in Arabia. Is the woodpecker lucky or unlucky? Is the woodpecker or any other bird the representative of the sky or the thunder? The enquiry is almost outside of my own personal field of study, but I have had the valuable help of my friend Fritz Krenkow, of Leicester, an Arabist of the first rank. From his researches I derive the following account of what looks very like the thunder-bird in the Arabic literature. The book from which I am quoting is named: *Talwīḥ fī Sharḥ al-Faṣīḥ*, by Abu Sahl Muḥammad Ibn 'Ali al Harawī, a commentary on the philological work al-Faṣīḥ by the celebrated Arabic Grammarian Tha'lab (ed. Cairo, 1907, p. 86):

The Qawārī-birds.

'You call this bird Qāriyah and the plural is qawārin. It has short legs, and a large beak and a green back, the Bedouins love it and consider it a good omen. Note that the Bedouins consider it a good or a bad omen. As regards the good omen, *because it announces rain* when it comes and there is just an indication of clouds in the sky. Hence al Ga'di (a poet contemporary with Muḥammad) has said: "Then did not cease to pour water over them and over their country *a thundering cloud which drives along the Qawārī birds.*" As for the bad omen: If any one of them were to meet on his journey a single bird of this kind, and there were no clouds and no rain, he considers it a bad omen. A poet has said, "Was it on account of the repeated scratchings of

the Qārīyah-bird, that you threw away the women made captives and returned home with terror?" He makes fun of certain people who made a raid on which they took much spoil. Then, when they were on their march home they heard the voice of a Qārīyah-bird, they abandoned their booty and fled.'

A similar explanation is found in Lisān-al-'Arab (ed. Būlāq, vol. XIX. p. 41) where a verse of another contemporary of Muḥammad is quoted as follows:

'Ibn Muqbil has said: *On account of a flash of lightning* from the North land (i.e. Syria) have I been kept awake; whenever I said, it has abated, *it flared again, and the green Qawārī birds were flying close to the ground in the darkness.*'

Here we have something like a thunder-bird: it does not, however, appear to be the black woodpecker.

There is another bird which is considered by the Bedouin as of especially evil omen, but here again it is not clear what the bird is. Its name is al Aḥyal, but whether it is a woodpecker or a falcon or some other unknown species, must remain obscure; I should hardly expect to find the woodpecker in Southern Arabia: and it does not seem as if we should get much further light on the subject from the Arabic writers. The bird al Aḥyal.

The net result is that we do seem to have recovered an Arabian storm-bird or thunder-bird.

Amongst the Babylonians we also find traces of storm-birds, e.g. the great Zu-bird; but I do not pursue this subject further. The great Zu-bird in Babylonia.

It is interesting to note that we are not entirely without evidence on the subject of the Babylonian beliefs with regard to twin-births. It is noted by Jastrow[1] that the Babylonian priests regard it as an evil omen for the king, if a woman bears twins of opposite sexes; but that twins are of good omen if they appear in the royal house[2]. This agrees with Twins in Babylonia.

[1] *Religion of Assyria and Babylonia*, 385 sqq., 391, 396.

[2] See v. Negelein, *Die aberglaubische Bedeutung der Zwillingsgeburt* in *Archiv f. Rel.* v. 271.

what we have observed in so many places, that twins of opposite sexes are peculiarly detestable: the raising of the taboo in the royal house corresponds to what we observed among the Brahmans and elsewhere, the taboo and its omens being reversed for the upper classes, and left in force among the vulgar, who can pay toll to the upper classes for the dangers which they introduce to the community. It is said that the same thing can be traced in Egyptian history.

Ninus the brother of Picus?

There is a curious tradition, which I have not succeeded in analysing, according to which Ninus, the first king of Assyria, is a brother of Picus who is also Zeus: does this mean that the woodpecker was known as a cult bird in Babylonia? The passage to which I refer is in Diodorus VI. 5, where it is restored from the *Excerpta ex Joannis Chronicis* apud Cramer, *Anecd. Paris.* vol. II. p. 236.

It begins thus:

ὁ δὲ ἀδελφὸς Νίνου, Πῖκος, ὁ καὶ Ζεύς, ἐβασίλευσε τῆς Ἰταλίας ἔτη ρκ' κρατῶν τῆς δύσεως...ἔσχε δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς Πῖκος, ὁ καὶ Ζεύς, υἱὸν ὀνόματι Φαῦνον, ὃν καὶ Ἑρμῆν ἐκάλεσεν εἰς ὄνομα τοῦ πλανητοῦ ἀστέρος.

It is probable that this identification of Ninus the first king of Nineveh with the brother of Picus, Woodpecker, is due to some confusion between Ninus and Minos, in which case the Woodpecker is no Babylonian or Assyrian bird, but our old friend Picus of Crete—as we might have expected from the repeated formula 'Picus, who is also Zeus.'

In the same way Moses of Khorene (I. 15), along with an account of the death of Ninus, has an alternative story that he escaped to Crete: here again we suspect confusion between Ninus and Minos.

The further statement about Picus being the father of Faunus is taken from the Roman mythology, where they are closely connected. But why does he equate Faunus and Hermes?

If we have failed to follow Diodorus in connecting Picus with Ninus, we need not banish the sacred woodpecker from Assyria; for, as we have shown elsewhere, he is called Hedad

in the Arabic of N.W. Africa, which is a survival from the Amorite and Assyrian Hadad, or Adad, the thunder-god.

Returning northward, we may remind ourselves that both in the history and geography of the Holy Land, we have already found an abundance of Dioscuric traces; we have, for instance, discussed the Boanerges of Galilee and the place named Ibn Abraq in the S.W., which is the geographical counterpart. We have also shown that the Phoenician traditions were saturated with Dioscurism. We may add another Thunder-shrine close to Jerusalem; there is a ruin to the N. of the city and almost due E. of Ramallah, called Khurbet Ibn Baraq (Ruin of the Son of Lightning). Nor is Jerusalem to be exempt; the twins were honoured in Jerusalem in the time of the supremacy of the Syrian kings, as we see by the story of Heliodorus in the second book of the Maccabees[1]. From the Talmud we have the suspicious reference to a pair of sacred cedars, which stood in the Temple courts, from which it is suspected that the Kedron derived its name (valley of the Cedars), and after the fall of the city, the Dioscuri were locally honoured on the coins of the restored city, Aelia Capitolina.

Twins in Jerusalem.

In the present chapter I only wish to establish one point further, viz. that the geography of Palestine shows traces of Dioscurism in connection with the sea of Galilee. First of all with regard to Beth-Ṣaida, and second for Chorazin.

When we were discussing the Phoenician traditions, as preserved by Sanchoniathon, we found a pair of twin ancestral heroes, named Halieus and Agrieus (the Hunter and the Fisher): and it was pointed out that these were probably modifications of an original Semitic root, meaning either to hunt or to fish. One of the names was certainly connected with the Phoenician personal name Ṣid (as in Ṣid-Melqart, etc.), and the place name of Ṣidon (modern Ṣaida). It is quite impossible to detach these names from the Galilean Beth-Ṣaida, which should naturally mean the *place of worship of Ṣaida*, the twin fisher-hunter. It does *not* mean *House of*

Twins on the Sea of Galilee.

Beth-Ṣaida.

[1] 2 Macc. iii. 22–30.

Fish. It is the place of honour of the patron saint of fishing; there is no reason to believe it to be a fish-god[1]. Thus, if there is one Beth-Ṣaida, there is one Dioscuric centre; if there should be two there will be two such centres: one would suppose that a natural place for such sanctuaries would be the shore of the Lake. In Central Syria, to the S. of Damascus, Dussaud notes a village named Ṣaida, which was at one time the residence of Ghassanid princes. One may suppose this to be a shrine of the patron deity of hunting[2].

Chorazin.

So much for Beth-Ṣaida. Now for Chorazin. Here we have again a Lake town, which is the centre of twin-worship. The name is not Hebrew. It is Aramaic or Syriac; it means *The Heralds*, and, as we have already seen, this was one of the titles of the Twins in Mesopotamia and in Arabia. Chorazin may be regarded as a variant of the Nebos. Now notice a curious and impressive textual variation: the Codex Bezae does not call it Chorazin but *Chorozain, which is a dual formation, and means the Two Heralds or the Two Preachers*. The reading of the Codex Bezae must be original, and is a striking testimony to the existence of Dioscuric ideas in Galilee, especially on the shore of the Lake[3]. There is nothing that need surprise us in this; for in any case we shall have to allow for strong Aryan elements in the ancestry of the Galileans, and where the Aryans are we have seen that the Twins are sure also to turn up. This result is of the highest importance. It gives us the necessary *point d'appui* for applying Dioscuric tests to the criticism of historical accounts, and enables us to explain (and sometimes to explain away) a good deal of perplexing matter: but of this more later on.

Its name is dual. 'The Two Heralds.

[1] Ṣaida is a personal name in Palmyrene: see de Vogüé, 76[2].

[2] See Dussaud, *Mission dans la Syrie Moyenne*, p. 39.

[3] For a parallel to illustrate the way in which a dual sanctuary can be formed, we may take the tombs of the two Kazims. They are 'situated about three miles N. of Baghdad, and constitute one of the principal places of pilgrimage of the Shi'ites. Around them has grown up a considerable town, chiefly inhabited by Persians, known as *Kazimeyn*,' Browne, *Episode of the Bab*, p. 85 n.

CHAPTER XXVI

ON THE TWIN-CULT IN EGYPT

Twin-cult in Egypt.

WE have spoken briefly in the previous chapter on the twin-cult in Palestine, and more at length on the same subject from the standpoint of the Arabians and the Babylonians; it may be as well to say a word or two about the Egyptian view of the matter: and the first word is one of caution: we must not expect to find twins honoured as thunder-boys, in a country where there is no thunder, nor as rain-makers, where no rain descends. Accordingly it is recognised by archaeologists, who do not however know the reason for the observation, that 'the double axe is a form altogether foreign to Egypt[1].' How could there be a thunder-axe, where thunder is unknown[2]? Nor shall we be likely to find the twins in evidence with their sire in an oak-tree, or the neighbourhood of an oak-tree, for the thunder-tree will also be absent; we cannot have an Egyptian Mamre or an Egyptian Romovo. The evolution of the cult must be on different lines in Egypt, even from what it was in Arabia or Babylonia. The natural suggestion is, that if the twins are credited to the sky-parentage at all, it will be as having mantic powers rather than meteorology. The parent, if any, should be the Sun, or the Sky, and not the thunder.

Twins not weather-gods in Egypt.

Now we can actually trace something of this kind, i.e. we

[1] *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, xiv. 1894, p. 304.

[2] Prof. Newberry in *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* of the University of Liverpool, suggests that a certain Egyptian sign is the symbol for a thunderbolt, and that it belongs to the god Min (=Amon), the thunder-god. The identification is very doubtfu

can find plenty of traces of ordinary twin-worship, and we can find divine twins, in the Zodiac and elsewhere. For instance, we shall find that Shû is the first-born son of Râ, and Hathor, and that he has for his twin-brother the lion-headed Tefnût[1]; and in the book of the Dead, Tefnût, the divine consort of Shû, is classed together with him, and with Tûm as a ruler of Heliopolis—later texts refer both Shû and Tefnût to the Zodiac as the Twins. Then there is another pair of Heavenly Twins that preserves the feature of mutual hostility, which has been so often noted, as in Jacob and Esau, in Romulus and Remus, etc. These are Horus and Set[2], who are described as twins and adversaries; in the great hymn to Amen Râ, the god is described as 'Thou who judgest the dispute between the twins in the great hall,' where it is said that Horus and Set are intended.

These cases are suggestive that the same problem has been before the Egyptians of interpreting the twin-taboo that we have found everywhere else. We may confirm the suggestion by the consideration of a twin element in the priesthoods of the great temples. From the Serapeum at Memphis we have a collection of documents belonging to the Ptolemaic period, which deal with petitions lodged with the government by Taues and Taous, the twins in the Serapeum, who complain that they have been defrauded by the officials of their normal and just allowance of corn and oil. The story is an interesting one when the documents are grouped together: we see the Egyptian Circumlocution Office finally outwitted, and the Twins restored to their rights. For our purpose the important thing to note in the story is that the young ladies are Egyptians, and that they plead precedent against defaulting authorities, asking that they may have the same allowances *as the twins who were in office before them*[3]. In other words, there was a line of Egyptian Twin-priestesses at Memphis, and no better proof could be given

Twin-priestesses at Memphis.

[1] Wiedemann, *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians*, p. 32.

[2] Wiedemann, p. 116.

[3] e.g. Pap. Mus. Britt., XXII., *καθὼς καὶ ταῖς προυπαρχούσαις ἡμῶν ἐν τῷ τόπῳ ἄλλαις διδύμαις ἐγένετο*, which suggests a long succession.

of the prevalence and sway of the twin-cult in Egypt. Whether the girls in question were the earthly representatives of a pair of great Twin-sisters is not so easy to prove in a final manner; but it looks extremely probable in view of the fact that the priest in such cults commonly personates his deity; we might compare, for example, the priest at Antioch, named Amphion[1], who was instrumental in setting up the pillars to Zethos and Amphion in that city. The same suggestion may be made for the Egyptian Thebes, though not in quite so striking a degree: here we have a document called 'The Money-bill from Thebes' (published by the Palaeographical Society), in which the financial obligations are discussed of two young ladies, who are Ibis-wardens; their names are Tathautis and Tacibis: here again we are dealing with Egyptians, and when we remove the feminine prefix (ta), we have clearly the name of the god Thoth, and of his cult-bird the Ibis. The names are, therefore, probably twin-names, and the young ladies are twins, attached to the service of Thoth. That is sufficient to suggest to our minds the existence of a service of twin-priestesses at Thebes.

Twins at Thebes.

Possibly we may take the argument a step further, for here we have an actual case of the priestess taking the name of the deity. Thoth answers to Hermes and to the Babylonian Nebo: is it conceivable that, as in Babylonia, Thoth was at one time honoured in twin-fashion? At all events, a measure of twin-cult has been made out: and it has been made out for ancient Egypt, and not for a Greek immigrant population. When we come to the Greek settlers, or to Egyptians who adopt Greek customs, we find twin-worship, and actual temples of the Dioscuri all over the country, and, as we suggested a while back, we find the Twins engaged in mantic and medical service.

Twins in Egypt sometimes from Greek cults.

There is also evidence that the Twins were sometimes attached to the worship of the greater gods and goddesses: for example, we have from Oxyrhynchus the following important statement, showing that the Dioscuri were worshipped

Twins attached to the greater gods.

[1] Cf. John Malalas, p. 234.

in that city in A.D. 20, apparently in some connection with Isis. The document is a census paper of the date mentioned, and begins as follows[1]:

'To Eutychides and Theon, topogrammateis and komogrammateis, from Horion, the son of Petosiris, priest of Isis, the most great goddess, of the temple called that of the Two Brothers, situated by the Serapeum at Oxyrhynchus, in the Myrobalanus quarter etc.'

The Two Brothers can hardly be anything else but the Dioscuri; we find them served by a priest of Isis, and apparently in a joint temple of Isis and the Twins.

Wherever the population of an Egyptian town is made up, wholly or in part, of Greek colonists, we shall find plenty of dedications to the Dioscuri: but these do not help us with the history of an Egyptian cult: one has only to turn to the indices of the volumes of the Oxyrhynchus Papyri, or to Prof. Petrie's volume on Naukratis, to see how much the Twins are in evidence in the religion of the people. The difficulty is in deciding whether these dedications and the involved names cover an original Egyptian worship. We have, however, said enough to show that there was such a twin-cult in some of the greatest Egyptian temples. As we have said, it was probably mantic, and had associated with it the practice of incubation and the interpretation of dreams; for not even immigrant Greeks could use the Twins for functions which involved the weather in a country which, in the strict sense of the word, has no weather.

[1] *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, vol. II. p. 214.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE STORY OF ESAU AND JACOB INTERPRETED

We now proceed to use the results of our enquiry for the interpretation of the legends of the Old Testament. The book of Genesis, in particular, is heavily Dioscurized, and needs a fresh commentary in the light of the facts which we have collected from all over the world. In some cases the matter to be discussed amounts to little more than a collocation of names, as Jabal, Jubal, and Tubal-Cain, the nomad, the musician, and the smith (for Tubal-Cain is described as the inventor of iron and brass work, and the name Cain, by itself, means smith[1]). If we had not the occupation stated, we should have suspected from the assonances that we were dealing with a Kabiric triad (*plus* their sister Noema, as in the case of Castor and Pollux with Helen): but with the occupations we note the suspicious resemblance of Jubal the lyrist to Amphion of Thebes, or to Apollo the divine twin of Delos.

The Twins in the book of Genesis.

The case of Cain and Abel (Qabil and Hebel of the Arabs) is more difficult. They are marked out as twins in one striking feature, that of the hostility between the two brothers, and the fact that one of them kills the other, of which we have found numerous traces in the history of the twin-cult. The matter needs further confirmation before we can make a strong statement on the subject: it is not uncommon for the first children, in the legendary births from the first pair of human beings, to be thought of as twins.

Story of Cain and Abel;

One of the clearest and most instructive cases of a

[1] That is, the derivation from the Hebrew word Qana', to acquire, in Gen. iv. 1, is a misbegotten piece of bad etymology.

of Abraham and his heavenly guests:

Dioscurized narrative is the story of the visit of the three angels to Abraham at the sacred oak of Mamre, and the subsequent destruction of the cities of Sodom and Gomorrha by two of these angels. Every detail in this story is Dioscuric: the sacred oak which is the scene of the theophany, the thunder-god and his two sons; the promise of rejuvenescence and of offspring to the aged patriarch and his wife, in recompense for his ready hospitality; the reward meted out to the inhospitable men of Sodom, partly by blinding of individuals, and collectively by the raining of fire and brimstone from heaven,—all these points can be illustrated from the Rig-Veda[1], and the Greek mythologies; and, as I said in another place, the story, if it were translated into the terms of Greek life, would be at once recognised as fundamentally Dioscuric. As I have already explained this in the *Cult of the Heavenly Twins*, I do not repeat the matter at greater length.

the story of Esau and Jacob:

Now let us come to another Biblical incident, or series of incidents, the story of the fortunes of Esau and Jacob: let us read this story in the light of what we know of the Dioscuri, and let us see what has to be subtracted from the accounts in Genesis on the ground of legendary accretion, or mythological foundation. The case is, in one respect, simplified for us by the admission that the two brothers are twins. If they are twins, are they also Dioscures? Do they quarrel? Does one kill the other?

The answer is that the quarrel between the two brethren is the leading motive of the story, so much so that it is even described as antenatal: the mother obtains a divine oracle, explaining to her the meaning of the mutual fraternal hostility.

[1] As, for example, in the kindness of the Açvins to the aged Cyavâna.

Rig-Veda, I. 116. 10, 'You, O Nasatya, took off the body of the aged Cyavâna, like a cloak.'

I. 117. 13, 'You, O Açvins, through your help made the aged Cyavâna young again.'

So in I. 118. 6; VII. 71. 5; V. 74. 5; X. 39. 4.

Especially note V. 74. 7, 'You took from the aged Cyavâna his bodily covering, like a garment, then you made him young again, and women again provoked his desire.'

The quarrel is a mortal one for the major part of the action. Esau means to kill Jacob, and it is a design which he cherishes for a large section of their common lifetime. It may be objected that the story stops short of the culminating action as we have it in Romulus and Remus. There are, however, different ways of telling the same story: and in the case of Esau and Jacob we have one story in Genesis, where Esau determines to kill Jacob and just doesn't kill him; and at the same time there is quite another story current in the Jewish traditions, according to which Jacob decides to kill Esau and actually does so. The story will be found in the book of Jubilees, as follows (Jubilees xxxviii. 1):

Esau would kill Jacob:

Jacob kills Esau?

'And after that Judah spake to Jacob his father, and said unto him: "Bend thy bow, father, and send forth thy arrows, and cast down thy adversary, and slay the enemy: and mayst thou have the power, for we shall not slay thy brother, for he is such as thou, and *he is like thee*: let us give him this honour." And Jacob bent his bow and sent forth his arrow, and struck Esau his brother on his right breast and slew him.'

As we have said, this is a variant of the Genesis story, and in fact it varies in two ways; first in making Jacob kill Esau, and secondly in describing the twin brothers as exactly alike, instead of, as in Genesis, diverse.

The two traditions are combined, as far as the murder is concerned, in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*[1], where it is explained that Esau came back, eighteen years after his reconciliation with Jacob, to make war with him, along with a strong and numerous contingent of fighting men; and then Jacob struck Esau with an arrow, and he was taken up dead in Mount Seir. The reference to Mount Seir shows that it was Jacob who had gone to make war with Esau, and not conversely.

There are, then, two traditions, both of which contain the Dioscuric motive that one brother should kill the other.

Return to the book of Genesis: we find that when the twins were born, one of them was rough and hairy, and the

Jacob and Esau,

[1] *Test. Judah*, ix.

other was smooth, and their characters corresponded, for one of them was a hunter and the other a shepherd.

parallel to Zethos and Amphion:

We need hardly stay to draw the parallel between the Biblical twins and the Theban twins, Zethos and Amphion, of whom Zethos is the hunter with the dog, and Amphion, the gentler soul, with the lyre. We may, if we please, compare also the twins of Delos, of whom Artemis is the huntress, and Apollo the musical genius.

Esau the Red man.

We come in the next place to a very important point; the older brother Esau, is not only hairy, he is also *red*: and this redness is clearly one of the leading ideas of the legend, for it comes up in a later name given to Esau, where he is called Edom, or the Red Man, and a ridiculous story is told of the cheating of the tired hunter by his astute brother, over a dish of *red* lentils. As we have said, such a story is ridiculous; if there had been food of that kind or of any kind in the tent when Esau came home empty-handed, he would not have hesitated to help himself, nor would Jacob have tried to prevent him. The story is a mere peg on which to hang an explanation of the name *Red Man*, whose meaning has been forgotten. We are at no loss as to the meaning of this fundamental note; we have already explained what *red* means in twin-legends; it means *thunder*, and Esau the Red is the Thunder-man, the immortal one of the pair; Jacob, and Jacob only, is the son of Isaac. Thus our story goes back to a time when one twin, and one only, was of divine ancestry. The description is entirely mythical.

Esau the Thunder-child.

The meaning of Jacob's frauds.

We come now to the story of Jacob's frauds. They are two in number; first, he robs his brother of his birthright, by means of the cooked lentils, then of his father's blessing, by dressing himself in the mask of Esau. The story is illustrated by the etymology of Jacob, and the turning of the expression[1] for following on the heels of any one into a statement that he supplants him. The name Jacob is, however, a typical name for the second of twins, and no etymology that goes beyond this is valid. There is no fraud suggested in being called *Number Two.*

[1] Heb. *'Aqab.*

Now look at the story more closely; one suspects that the double fraud, the birthright fraud and the blessing fraud, are variants of the same theme. The birthright is another way of saying the inheritance, and cannot easily be detached from the blessing. What, then, does the story mean? It is an explanation of the perplexing fact that the younger of a pair of twins is the heir; for which abnormal custom explanation has to be made. That this is the real meaning of the elder serving the younger we shall now be able to demonstrate, in the following way. It is actually the case that there are tribes that transfer birthright from the elder of twins to the younger.

The second twin is the senior!

Suppose we turn to Leonard, *The Lower Niger and its Tribes*[1]: we shall find the following statements about the birth of twins in Igarra-land. Here we find that 'the first of the twins to arrive, strange as it may appear...is looked on as the younger, while the second occupies the position of elder. The reason which is assigned by the people for this curious reversal of the natural order is the assumption...that the younger is sent out first of all by the elder, in token of his inferiority, or rather, in acknowledgment of his brother's superiority.'

We shall find an echo of the same belief in the Greek story of Proitos and Akrisios, of whom it is said that *even in the womb they were quarrelling with one another*[2]. The name Proitos suggests at once, after the fashion of the twin names, that he is the elder; and the legend says that the elder brother is beaten and expelled by the younger. So that the maxim 'Jacob have I loved and Esau have I hated,' is of wider application than the original Palestinian pair. This exactly explains the legend in Genesis, which is an attempt to find a reason for the existing practice of the conferring of the right of primogeniture upon the younger of twin children. Now the curious thing is that the same difficulty turns up again in the same book at a later place, where

[1] pp. 458 sqq.

[2] Apollonius, *Bibl.* II. 2, κατὰ γαστρὸς μὲν ἔτι ὄντες ἐστασίαζον πρὸς ἀλλήλους.

there is evidently another problem in primogeniture. This time it is the case of Manasseh and Ephraim, the two sons of Joseph: Manasseh is definitely stated to have been the elder, but by a curious transference of the grandfather's hands in benediction from the head of one child to the head of the other, Ephraim obtains the rights of the first-born, so far as these are carried by the benediction, and it is evidently intended that they should be so carried. Now it is not stated that Ephraim and Manasseh are twins: if they are not, the problem is a wider one, and the thing to be explained is the law of primogeniture in the younger child of a family, such as we know to prevail in certain countries[1]; if, however, the facts have been obscured that Manasseh and Ephraim are twins, the case reduces itself to the previous category, and the problem is one of primogeniture of twin-children. Such a problem was likely to arise, as soon as the dual paternity had come into view. In either case, a story is told to explain the obsolescent custom.

All that we really learn from these stories is that there was formerly a custom of primogeniture in the younger child of a pair: the rest is all romance. We have now much reduced the story of Jacob and Esau: all the details of the birth-story, all the conflicts between the brothers and the divine election, have disappeared. Whether what is left is history remains to be seen; legend commonly needs something to which it can attach itself: our first duty is the removal of the legends from the traditional account. What is left is a mere trifle compared with what we started from.

There are other twin-stories in Genesis, such as the Pharez and Zara story, which are capable of illumination from folk-lore sources.

[1] For instance it is an old English custom, known by the name of Borough English, prevailing in many places, e.g. in the town of Nottingham. It is also said to occur in Germany and in Mongolia. Such a custom prevailed in certain Semitic circles, if we may judge from the story of Ephraim and Manasseh. It prevails to this day among the Khasis of Assam in the form of inheritance through the youngest daughter. See Additional Notes at the end of the volume.

CHAPTER XXVIII

FURTHER TRACES OF DIOSCURISM ON THE SEA OF GALILEE

The Sea of Galilee

Now let us turn to the New Testament and examine for further traces of Dioscuric influence, either upon the geography of Palestine, or upon the New Testament records. We have already shown that there is a high probability that Beth Ṣaida was the cult-centre of a twin-god, allied to the divinity of Sidon, and that Chorazin (originally Chorozain) was a shrine of the Heavenly Twins.

a centre of twin-cult:

Let us approach the matter from another point of view. We will show that there are special reasons why the Twins should be in evidence on the Sea of Galilee, and it is likely that, if they are there, they will be found acting in a particular manner.

its dangers:

We have often noticed that the cult of the Twins is developed in dangerous positions on rivers, and in straits and dangerous shallows or seas: it is, then, *a priori* likely that the Sea of Galilee, with its peculiar liability to sudden storms of wind (Mark calls these gusts by the name of λαῖλαψ), which rush down the steep valleys like funnels, should be a centre of Twin worship. The Sea itself receives its name, perhaps, from its stormy waves, rather than from a meaningless Hebrew word for *circle*. The underlying root may be the Aramaic (Syriac) word for waves (*galelē*)[1]: the name reminds us of the dangers, and the dangers suggest the deprecatory cult, which will allay the storms or protect from them.

[1] The form *Galīl* (circle, roller) will be a later perversion of this; but the underlying roots are very nearly the same.

Those causes which coloured the Phoenician religion so strongly with Dioscuric features would operate in a similar manner on the inland sea. Indeed, we have suggested that there was a common element in the beliefs of the Phoenicians who sailed and rowed on the great Sea, and the Galileans who navigated the inland sea, which Luke, more exactly, calls the Lake. Suppose, then, that Dioscurism prevailed on the Lake of Galilee: let us admit it, for it was inevitable: we have now the cult, or at least the cult-centre.

the Twins are necessary:

Now let us go back to the origin of twin-cults, and we shall find that it is an extremely common view to regard twins as being useful in hunting and fishing. For instance, among the Kwakiutl Indians, twins are nothing but disguised salmon who have assumed human shape, and in that guise are able to bring their brothers and sisters into the fisherman's net.

and useful;

they catch fish:

Among the Ngombe tribes on the Congo, 'if men go hunting and one of the number curses a twin, and the twin responds by stating that the hunt will be in vain, it may be abandoned, the others believing that the twin has some occult power which will be exercised against them, so that no animals will be taken. *The same applies to fishing*: if a twin should bless a fishing or hunting party, it is sure to be successful.'

or hinder their capture:

Among the Shuswap Indians of British Columbia, 'twins who had the deer for their protector were always successful in hunting; in like manner, those who had the grisly bear for protector, could always find bears and kill them easily.'

While the twins are quite little, they serve to diagnose the success of the hunt. 'Their mother can see by their play whether her husband, who is out hunting, is successful or not. When the twins play about and feign to bite each other, he will be successful; if they keep quiet he will come home empty handed[1].'

The Tsimshian Indians, from the same part of the world, fear twins, 'as they can harm the man whom they hate':

[1] Boas, *ut supra*.

but they believe that the 'twins can call the olachen and the salmon and are therefore called Sewihān = making plentiful.'

Here, then, are a number of cases in which twins, considered as lucky, are especially useful in hunting and fishing. The same thing is true of their symbols; in Western Europe, we have shown the importance of the thunder-stone, and how it conserves the powers and potencies of the thunder; and since the twins are, in Europe as well as in Palestine and elsewhere, the children of the Thunder, it is only natural that the thunder-stone, which is a visible child of the thunder, should also be lucky in hunting and fishing. On this account the Danish fisherman regards the Zebedee-stone as attracting good luck, so he uses it as a sinker in his fishing net. A peasant in Vermland thought he had observed that the fish came with greater readiness into those nets for which stone axes (i.e. thunder-stones) were used as sinkers[1]. We shall find that the thunder-stones can do many of the things that are normally credited to the Sons of the Thunder. For instance, they are employed as birth-helps by women. Thunder-stone lucky in fishing.

We shall not be surprised, then, if we should find on the Sea of Galilee stories of great fishing feats, attributed more or less directly to the Heavenly Twins, or their earthly representatives.

In another direction, also, their activity may be expected to be recorded. We have alluded to the power which they possess, as Children of the Sky, of controlling the storm, and of the influence which the thunder-stone, as representing the Sons of Thunder, has in protecting the person who is so fortunate as to possess one. Twins control storms:

Thus the Skgomic of British Columbia regard the birth of twins as a very special event, twins always possessing, as was believed, supernormal powers, *the commonest of which was control of the wind*[2]. If at any time wind was required for in British Columbia:

[1] Blinkenberg, *ut supra*, p. 90: quoting from Montelius, *Sveriges forntid*, p. 161.

[2] C. Hill-Tout, *ut supra*.

sailing, the bodies of the twins would be rubbed with oil or grease, after which, it is said, the wind would immediately rise. The same belief prevailed among the Shuswap Indians, who held twins to be 'endowed with power over the elements, especially over rain and snow[1].' Of the Tsimshian Indians, Boas tells us that it is their belief that 'twins control the weather; therefore they pray to wind and rain, "*Calm down, breath of the Twins*[2]."' Of the Kwakiutl, it is said that twins, while children, are able to summon any wind by motions of their hands, and can make fair or bad weather.

in Brittany:

The same belief in the control of the weather by twins can be traced, in survival, in Western Europe: in Finistère, they allay the wildest tempest by means of a talisman preserved in the hollow of an oak tree, which consists of two apples, growing on one stem, to which prayers are addressed[3]. The talisman is significant: we have the hollow oak where the thunder strikes, and where the thunder-stone itself is often supposed to be hidden: the twin-apples are the symbol of the twin-children of the Thunder.

Thunder-stone protects against storms in Indo-China.

Traces of the same in the form of an influential thunder-stone controlling the weather, but apparently without the introduction of the Children of the Thunder, may be found in the French colonies of the far East. In Annam the thunder-stone protects against thunder, and in a storm, one puts such a stone among the silk-worms to protect them from damage. This belief is not far removed from the control of the weather by the Boanerges; certainly in the districts where the thunder is personally represented by twins, we shall expect them to discharge the duties which, in the places where the representation is inanimate, are performed by stones or twin-apples.

The Greek Dioscuri calm the storm:

In the Greek literature the power of the twins to calm the storm is expressed almost in Biblical language; take, for example, the Homeric Hymn (XXXIII. 15–18):

[1] Teit, *The Shuswap Indians*, pp. 586, 587.
[2] Boas, *Report Brit. Ass.* 1889, p. 847.
[3] L. F. Sauve in *Rev. Celtique*, v. (?), 82, 83.

αὐτίκα δ' ἀργαλέων ἀνέμων κατέπαυσαν ἀέλλας,
κύματα δ' ἐστόρεσαν λευκῆς ἁλὸς ἐν πελάγεσσιν,
ναύταις σήματα καλά.

'So they allayed the storms of troublous winds,
And planed the whitening waves upon the main:
Fair signs to shipmen.'

Or we may turn to Theocritus (XXII. 1. 17–21).

ἀλλ' ἔμπας ὑμεῖς γε καὶ ἐκ βυθοῦ ἕλκετε νᾶας·
αὐτοῖσιν ναύταισιν ὀϊομένοις θανέεσθαι·
αἶψ' ἀπολήγονται δ' ἄνεμοι, λιπαρὰ δὲ γαλάνα
ἀμ' πέλαγος νεφελαὶ δὲ διέδραμον ἄλλυδις ἄλλαι.

'Nathless when sailors deem the tide their grave,
Ye draw the foundering bark from out the wave;
Soft murmur winds that erst were howling loud,
And far and wide recedes the vagrant cloud.'

Possible N.T. parallels.

The parallel between the Greek conception of the Stilling of the Storm by the Twins, and the Gospel story of a similar miracle, is very close. Whether it is more than an accidental parallel will depend upon the extent to which we regard Dioscurism to be already established as a factor by which to explain incidents in the Gospels, or in the Early Church history. We may, at any rate, use Theocritus' language about 'sailors who think to die' as an explanatory illustration of 'Master! save us, we perish,' and his 'assuaged winds' and 'glassy calm' side by side with the 'great calm' of the Gospels.

It may therefore be concluded that we ought not to be surprised, and may even have a right to expect, that control of the weather by twins will be a belief on the shores of the Sea of Galilee.

Do the Twins walk the sea?

From these considerations we naturally pass to another question, as to whether walking on the sea should be included amongst the Dioscuric powers. The answer seems to be that there are not a few traces of an early belief in the possibility of walking upon water, but that they do not seem to be generally connected with the Twins. For instance, in Roman legend, we have the swift Camilla, who

'Flies o'er the unbending corn or skims along the main[1],'

but there is no reason to suppose that Camilla has absorbed

[1] Pope, *Essay on Criticism.*

a Dioscuric function. Amongst the Argonauts, as described by Apollonius Rhodius, we have the case of Euphemus whom Europa bore to Poseidon; Euphemus was the swiftest of men, and could run on the salt surge of the sea without merging his feet[1]. There seems no reason to identify him with the Dioscuric company.

Water-walking in Indian literature:

In the Indian literature, too, we have traces of water-walking, and here it is interesting to notice that the power is not merely physical, but that it has a moral side, and seems to be ascribed to virtue in the water-walker. Hopkins has pointed out an important case in the Brahmin Mahābhārata[2]: he says, 'Water is especially associated with truth, because truth is verbal purity. Consequently, a very good man can walk over water, or even drive his battle-car over water without sinking into it, as was the case with Pṛthu Vāsinya, and with Ditīpa, who was a speaker of truth.'

It will be said that this does not exclude the Açvins, and that the Twins have as one of their functions the guardianship of truth, but it does not include them. If the Açvins can walk on water, we shall probably find the feat alluded to in the Rig-Veda, where there are constant references to their help in saving shipwrecked or storm-driven mariners. One of the most interesting cases is that of a certain Bhujyu, the son of Tugras, who had been abandoned by his friends, and apparently by his own father, to a watery death. After three days and three nights in the deep (one naturally compares the Jonah legend) the Açvins rescued him in a ship with a hundred oars. Sometimes the Twins are said to have saved him on a flying chariot with a hundred horses[3]. It does not appear that they walked on the sea to save him. On the other hand it should be noticed that the rescued Bhujyu himself walked on the sea, and was safely taken on board the chariot of the Açvins. The passage is as follows: I. 117. 15, 'The rescued son of Tugras cried to you and he

[1] Apoll. *Argonaut.* I. 180–185.

[2] *Proc. Am. Phil. Soc.* 1900, p. 38.

[3] Are the *chariot* and the *ship* originally equivalent as in Syriac? cf. *Odes of Solomon*, 38.

walked on the water without wavering: you, mighty ones, brought him in safety on your chariot, well harnessed and swift as thought.'

To this there is an obvious Biblical parallel, but it does not exactly establish that the Açvins were thought of as walking on the sea.

a parallel in the Acts of Thomas.

There is one passage in the *Acts of Thomas* which may, perhaps, be interpreted Dioscurically in view of the proved influence of Dioscurism right through the fabric of the Acts. In the seventh Act, when Judas is addressing the people in words of farewell, and commending them to the care of his deacon Xenophon, he says that, 'when you go on board ship and are in danger, and no man can help you, then he (Jesus) will walk upon the waters and support your ships.' The difficulty is to decide whether this is a reflex from the Gospel narrative, or whether it is a genuine Dioscuric trait. If it is the latter, then we add the Walking on the Sea in the Gospel to the other cases of Dioscuric action. The references to the care of ships in the opening chapter of the Acts are certainly Dioscuric; the only question is whether we ought to extend the statement to the passage quoted from the seventh Act. Reviewing the arguments of the whole chapter, it must at least be admitted that a case has been made out for some Dioscuric influence in the records and legends of the Sea of Galilee.

Dioscurism in places, peoples and literatures:

At this time it may be as well to reflect on the cumulative results of the argument: we find places, literatures and peoples impregnated with Dioscuric ideas. The names of the places betray the reverence and even the actual worship paid to the Twins; this argument will be more and more forcible according as we find more names of places that are susceptible of Dioscuric explanation. In literature we find whole books which are coloured by the beliefs of the Twin-cult: the most striking case is that of the *Acts of Thomas*, but the second book of Maccabees is, in its way, as decidedly Dioscuric; the book of Genesis is frankly unintelligible without the assistance of the illumination thrown on it by the Twin-cult. As for popular beliefs, we find that there are very few races that do not hold the leading beliefs of the

the Acts of Thomas: the second book of Maccabees.

Dioscuric superstition; these beliefs are not exclusively Aryan nor Semitic: we come across traces of them in Arabia, as well as in Greece and Rome, and in Palestine as well as in Mesopotamia. Of the persistency of these beliefs there can be no reasonable doubt. The second book of Maccabees is a book which was written as late, perhaps, as the first years of the Christian era: it is decidedly Dioscurized: if the objection be made that it simply incorporates the work of Jason of Cyrene, the answer is that in that case we do not push Jewish Dioscurism back to an earlier date than about 100 B.C., and the events described are not themselves much earlier. So we bring Dioscurism practically down to our Lord's time, and this means that Dioscuric explanations cannot be wholly ruled out of the interpretation of events recorded in the Gospels, if, on other grounds, such explanations should appear to be the most natural.

That the Boanerges are the Heavenly Twins can, moreover, be established on the Gospel's own admission, in the earliest known form of the Gospel, as well as in a variety of other ways. We are obliged to admit of the existence of the Dioscuric environment, to allow for the permeation of Judean society by the Dioscuric ideas. How far such ideas may have actually coloured the narrations is another question: our first business is to clear the ground, to get rid of false ideas of Palestinian religion; we shall then be able to judge with greater certainty as to the relative credibility or incredibility of the different parts of the narrative.

We have alluded above to the Dioscurism of the second book of Maccabees: and this may be the best place for completing the proof of such Dioscurism, over and above the story of Heliodorus.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE DIOSCURIC ELEMENT IN II MACCABEES

The Twins in 2 Maccabees.

We have already shown that the second book of Maccabees opens its transferences from the pages of Jason of Cyrene with an account of the defeat of Heliodorus in his attempt to plunder the Temple at Jerusalem. Three heavenly beings, splendidly horsed and armed and richly dight, opposed his entrance to the sanctuary, and two of them scourged him mercilessly with their whips, so that he was carried out more dead than alive. The Dioscuri, with their sire, protected the Holy Place of the Jews. The meaning of the story was recognised by Fairweather in his article on the 'Development of Doctrine in the Apocryphal Period' in Hastings' *Bible Dictionary* (vol. v. p. 287), where it was referred to as 'almost a repetition of the old Roman legend of Castor and Pollux mounted on white steeds, and appearing at the head of the Jewish armies.' There is, however, another story of the same kind a little later in the book. Fairweather speaks of it as 'a somewhat similar tale,' but does not follow up the clue. As it stands, the legend is as follows:

2 Macc. iii. 25 sqq.

They scourge Heliodorus.

When Timotheus came against Judas Maccabaeus to revenge himself for a former defeat, with a horde of foreign troops and Asiatic cavalry, he was minded to take all Judea captive. The Jews, however, besought the Lord to come to their aid, and to be an adversary to their adversaries, as he had promised in the Law. When battle was joined, the answer to their prayers came in the appearance from heaven of five horsemen, with golden bridles, two of whom became

2 Macc. v. 29 sqq.

They flank Judas Maccabaeus in battle,

the leaders of the Jews, riding one on each side of Maccabaeus, and discharging arrows and *thunderbolts* upon the enemy. Moreover the adversaries *were struck blind,* fell into disorder, and were slaughtered on a great scale.

using Dioscuric weapons and methods.

That this is Dioscuric is clear not only from the princely pair, who protect the Maccabee, and are evidently, from the missiles which they throw, *Sons of the Thunder,* but also from the blindness which falls on the enemy, which is one of the punishments proper to the twins, and is parallel to the judgement of the men of Sodom in the book of Genesis at the hands of the two angels. The only difficulty is with regard to the number of the heavenly allies. They are said to be five, of whom two undertook the actual leadership of the Jews in battle. I suspect that the word *five* is an error: we should read *three*; some one who did not see that the three included the two, has replaced three by five, so as to give the exact total. The number should clearly be the same as in the story of Heliodorus. Even if we do not correct the text, the two who rush with the Jews into battle are described in such terms as hurling thunderbolts (*κεραυνοὺς ἐξέρριπτον*) and with such results to the enemy that they are struck with blindness and thrown into confusion (*συγχυθέντες ἀοράσίᾳ*), that we cannot doubt them to be the Dioscures. And we are entitled to say that in the time of the Maccabean wars, the Dioscuri had not yet been displaced by the holy angels. These results are of the first importance; for the author of second Maccabees cannot be much earlier than the Christian era, and the author from whom he borrows is hardly earlier than 100 B.C., the events that are described prohibiting a much earlier date. So we have brought Dioscurism into Palestinian history at a time which nearly coincides with the time of production of the Gospels. The importance of this will be evident. It is a companion result to the proof of Dioscurism in Mesopotamia, which we derived from the *Acts of Thomas.* Each proof has a legitimate re-action on the New Testament.

Dioscurism in Palestine till the Christian era.

CHAPTER XXX

ON THE NAMES COMMONLY GIVEN TO TWIN CHILDREN

As there seems to be a very widespread custom of indicating twinship by the names given to the children or of specifying by their names either the order in which they were born or some peculiarity attaching to them, it seems to be worth while to collect some of the principal varieties of nomenclature which occur in our investigation. Names of Twins

The first classification that comes to one's hand is the giving of a name which shall indicate twinship. The importance of this will be evident, for as soon as twins are allowed to live, they live as marked persons, either for good or evil fortune; and when they acquire dignity this dignity is often transmitted to their offspring, or to a priesthood operating for the deceased or deified twins, and representing them. In this connection, the first names that occur to one are express twinship;

Thomas
Didymus
Geminus,

respectively in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. Then in German there is Zwilling. In English a variety of names can be traced to this source: over and above the obvious Twinn we have Twysse (for twice), Twist (for Twiced); in my immediate neighbourhood a doctor named Gummow betrays an original French *Jumeau,* and amongst my students a Scotch lady named Gemmell answers to an original Latin *Gemella,* perhaps through the French.

In Greek we have also the form Amphion, which, as we have pointed out, means Twin, and is the equivalent of Amphigenes.

Amongst savage tribes we also find the custom of calling a child simply Twin: e.g. in Fanti land, all such children are called Attah, i.e. twin. Amongst the Yorubas it is common to call them simply Ibeji, i.e. twins. Traces of this custom of giving a common name to twins and triplets can be found in our own mythology: see Saxo Grammaticus (Bk v. 122) for three brothers named Grep[1].

indicating order of birth.

The next grouping of the names should be of those that indicate that one is the first-born and the other the second. Thus, in the pair Esau-Jacob, the first name has not yet been explained, but the second clearly means *the follower*, and intimates that the person bearing the name is not the first-born. In the same way the Greek twins Proitos and Akrisios, who quarrel antenatally, like Esau and Jacob, and one of whom expels the other from Argos, must surely conceal priority under the name of Proitos. The same thing is true of the Milanese twins, Protasius and Gervasius. Amongst African tribes we see constant attempts at indicating the order of birth: thus amongst the Basoga-Batamba tribes of the Uganda Protectorate, we have the following scheme:

Boy and girl,	Waiswa and Babilye,
Two boys,	Waiswa and Kato,
Two girls,	Uja and Babilye,

where, since twins generally are called *bana-babili* (= two-children) it is clear that Babilye means the second of a pair.

Twin-names in W. Africa,

In the Sherbro Hinterland (Sierra Leone), twins are called irrespective of sex

Sau and Jina.

I do not pretend to know the interpretation of these languages.

[1] See *Cult*, p. 58 sqq.

Among the Ewe-speaking tribes, we have consistently

Atsu = first-born,
Tse = second-born,

and a male born after these is called Dosu.

For West African tribes, Dr Nassau has noted that in Benga the twins are called

Ivaha = a wish,
and Ayenwe = unseen,

while among the Egbas the names are

Taiwo = the first to taste the world,
Kehende = the one who comes last[1].

From one of the Baptist Mission stations on the Congo, the late Dr Bentley informed me that the names given to twins in that region were Nsimbe and Nzuzi.

Among the Nilotic Kavirondo, the first of twins is called Apio (the one who comes quickly), the other is called Adongo (the one who is delayed). We note again the parallel with Jacob (the follower). in E. Africa.

Among the Warundi, the elder of twins is called Wukuru, Wuwiruke; the younger, Witoyi, Wusinya, Shakati. I do not know the meaning of these names.

On the Albert Nyanza, special names are given to the first and last of a pair of twins.

In the Unyoro country, the first is called Singonia, the second Kato.

In Monbottuland, twin boys are called

Aburi and Nabesse,

and twin girls

Abuda and Tindade.

On the White Nile beyond Bedden, the names for twins are Keniy and Mundia.

In Togo-land, the case is as follows:

Boys = Ese and Esi,
Girls = Ḥuevi and Ḥuese,
Boy and girl = Esi and Esiḥue.

[1] Nassau, *Fetichism in West Africa*, p. 206.

The children of twins have also their parentage indicated:

first born, boy, girl = Dosu, Devi,
second born, boy, girl = Dosavi, Dohnevi,
third born, boy, girl = Donyo, Dosevi.

No doubt these names are, as Pindar would say, *φωνᾶντα συνετοῖσιν*.

Twin-names implying selection,

With the foregoing comes the case in which, one twin having been spared, his election to life is intimated in his name. For example, on the Brass River in the Niger territory, one child is killed: the one that is spared is called, if a boy, Isele, if a girl Sela, both names meaning 'the selected one.' This case is interesting on account of a suspicion that something of the kind can be traced in our own national ancestry. Thus the name Joicey is really a past participle and is a disguise of the French *choisi*; much in the same way as the English surname Chance, which, as its American form Chauncey shows, is again a past participle, and means a child who has been changed (*changé*) by the fairies. On this hypothesis Joicey would be the twin child saved out of a pair.

or origin,

The next classification would be that in which the twins are named collectively or individually by their powers and potencies. The most striking examples of this will be, when the twins are called children of Zeus (Dioscuri), or children of the Thunder (Boanerges), or children of the Sky-Thunder (Bana ba Tilo) or the like; or we may have cases in which

or quality.

the twins are simply named after the luck they bring in hunting or fishing, as for instance among the Tsimshian Indians, who call twins Sewihān, i.e. making plentiful; or as amongst the ancient Phoenicians, where the names of a pair of brothers appear in Greek translation as Halieus, and Agrieus. In Uganda, as Mr Roscoe informs me, twins are named after the god of plenty, so that any male twin is called Mukasa, any female twin Namukasa.

Thunder-names for Twins.

For names derived from the Thunder, I suspect that we have a good many names, in English and in Scotch, that go back either directly to the Thunder, or to the Thunder-god Thor. For instance, a very old Scotch name is Livingstone, whose Latin form is *de Villa Levini*, which suggests that the place-name was originally Levin's Town and involves the *Levin* or thunderbolt. As a personal name Liveing, it was the mark of a celebrated Cambridge Professor of Chemistry in the present generation[1]. Of names formed from Thor, it is certain that we have plenty, many of them being place-names, which have become personal names. On this point we must not linger; no doubt, if such names exist, as I believe to be the case, some one, with wider philological knowledge than my own, will before long deal with them exhaustively.

Meaning of Tyndarides.

Of all the names given to twins, the most perplexing is that which is collectively given to Castor and Pollux. They are commonly called *Tyndarides*, after their supposed human parent, Tyndareus. The earliest form of the name appears to be Tindarides; but no clue has yet been found for the meaning of the name. It was tempting to suggest that perhaps Tyndarides was only another way of saying *Sons of Thunder*, on the assumption that, as in our own language, an intrusive *d* has slipped into an original Tanar, from which in the Saxon form *thunor* we get our *thunder*: there is no difficulty in such an intrusion of the consonant in Greek, as we see in the Greek ἀνδρός for ἀνερός; but the vowels resist the identification; and however seductive the hypothesis, it must be abandoned. If the word for thunder is not involved in the Tyndarids, we must either look for some other twin-parentage (say the oak or the woodpecker)[2] or be satisfied to leave Tyndareus as the name of an unknown and

[1] It is a rare name, but it can still be seen on the main street of Birmingham: so that Sons of Thunder can be found here as well as in Palestine!

[2] The suggestion has been made that the form we are in search of may be related to the Latin *tundit* (Sanskr. *tudáti*, Eng. *thud*). In that case the word describes either the hammering of the woodpecker, or the crashing of the thunder.

unexplained person, in whose family twins appeared, who were ultimately raised to celestial rank. It is with regret that I set the problem on one side as still unsolved.

Meaning of Castor.

The pair of twins in question are also known as Castor and Polydeuces; and collectively as the Castors, or beavers. It has been suggested to me that the name 'beavers' is a companion to 'woodpeckers,' and has come in by way of the first ship-yard, because if the woodpeckers hollow the tree, the beavers fell it[1]. Moreover, a scrutiny of early Greek ships in works of art will show that the steering-oar, or rudder (the German *ruder* shows that the rudder was originally an oar, perhaps *the* oar), was modelled on the tail of the beaver. A similar oar is still in use on the rafts that come down the Euphrates and Tigris.

Sky-names for Twins.

Of the names of twins that betray quality or assume origin, the most important are those which express kinship with the bright sky, as Hilaeira and Phoebe, the twin-sisters of Sparta, or Phoebus Apollo; or which imply powers that are borrowed from the sky, such as Idas and Lynceus. Of Zethos and Amphion, the former is, I believe, still obscure: the latter has already been explained as being simply Twin.

[1] See Wood, *Natural History*, p. 92, 'As many beavers live together in one society, the formation of a dam does not take very long. By their united efforts they rapidly fell even large trees by gnawing them round the trunk, and always taking care to make them fall towards the water, so that they can transport the logs easily.' The suggestion as to the beavers is due to my friend Jowett Wilson.

CHAPTER XXXI

ON THE TWINS IN THE LETTISH FOLK-SONGS, AND ON THE HOLY OAK

We now follow the Aryan migration westward, and are able to note the re-appearance of a number of beliefs in regard to twins, which we have previously detected in Indian and Anatolian folk-lore.

The Twins in the Lettish folk-songs.

The most important of such discoveries for our purpose are contained in Mannhardt's famous studies of the Lettish folk-songs, which were published in the seventh volume of the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*. I should have liked, had space permitted, to have reprinted these famous articles in an English translation: they are still far too little known; to say that they are amongst the finest of Mannhardt's work is to carry praise to a point where it can hardly go further. Fortunately for English readers, a brief summary of Mannhardt's position and an appreciation of the value of his results, can be found in Schrader's noble article on the Aryan religion in Hastings' *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*.

The Twins among the Naharvali.

In my first study on the diffusion of the Dioscuric legends, I found the starting point of the ancient European Dioscurism in a passage of Tacitus, in which he speaks of the beliefs of the Naharvali, who may probably be located in Lithuania, or in the country of the Vandals. As the passage has become a classical one in this investigation, it is proper once more to transcribe it:

Tacitus, *Germania*, c. 43, 'Apud Naharvalos antiquae religionis lucus ostenditur. Praesidet sacerdos muliebri ornatu: sed deos interpretatione Romana Castorem Pollucemque memorant: ea vis numini, nomen Alcis; nulla simulacra, nullum peregrinae superstitionis vestigium: ut fratres tamen, ut juvenes, venerantur.'

According to Tacitus, we have among the tribes whom he describes, an archaic cult of a pair of young heroes, who were brethren of the type of Castor and Pollux; the priest, clad in women's garments, officiated in a sacred grove; but there was no foreign superstition imposing itself upon the original worship (Tacitus is, perhaps, speaking feelingly, in recollection of the foreign religious invasions at Rome): the name of the deities worshipped was Alcis. The name Alcis has not yet been explained: Schrader thinks it means 'hired labourers,' and points out that there was a Lithuanian deity named Algis (see Lasicius, *De Diis Samagitarum*, p. 47). However that may be, it is clear, without any further parallels, that if Tacitus' observations are correct, we have recovered the twin-cult of the ancient Aryans among the Naharvali; and if we have recovered the ancient Twin-cult, Tacitus is correct in drawing the parallel with the worship of the Heavenly Twins at Rome. For it stands to reason that, if the original Aryans started with a twin-cult, they did not afterwards invent another independent twin-cult. The worship in the grove of the Naharvali is the evolution of the original cult of the Sky-god, or Thunder-god, as the Aryan tribes made their westerly migration. So much for the underlying necessary connection between the worship of the Naharvali and that of ancient Rome. This worship in a grove was the cult of a god Perkunas (the ancient Lithuanian god) along with two young assessors: and as it is clear that we must connect Perkunas with the Latin *quercus* and with the *Hercynian* forest, we are to consider the ancient worship as detected in Europe to be the worship of a tree-god (who may also be a thunder-god) and the Twins.

The Twins and the Oak-god.

Now for the connection with the eastern forms of the Aryan religion: it is at this point that Mannhardt's researches become so important; for they show again, from the survivals of ancient beliefs in the Lettish folk-songs, that there was a pair of heavenly beings, named *dewa deli*, i.e. sons of god; these sons of god are identified with the Morning Star and the Evening Star so that it is certain that

Mannhardt's discoveries in Lettish folk-lore.

they are a pair of twin-gods; they are trying to liberate the daughter of the Sun. We have thus the same connection, as we found in the Vedas, of the twin-brethren with the sunrise, while it is equally clear that they are connected also with Castor and Pollux and their sister Helena.

It is very surprising that so much can have been preserved in folk-songs out of the immemorial past. Here is a verse from one of the Lettish songs:

'Why stand the gray horses
At the housedoor of the Sun?
They are the gray horses of the Son of God
Who sets free the daughter of the Sun.'

The gray horses of the Sun,

Here the only change that has occurred for ages in the subject matter appears to be the turning of 'Sons of God' from the plural into the singular. Making only this slight correction, we recover the pair of heavenly horsemen of the Rig-Veda. In the same way, from the identification of the twin-brethren and their horses, with the Morning and the Evening Stars, we find ourselves in close agreement with the ancient worship of Edessa, viz. of the Sun with the Morning and the Evening Stars for his assessors.

In the Lettish songs the gray horses of the dawn are sometimes said to belong to the moon: e.g.

or of the moon;

'Whose are the gray ponies
At the housedoor of the little god?
Those are the moon's ponies
Who set free the daughter of the Sun,'

and in the following verse the moon's ponies are expressly identified with the Morning and the Evening Stars:

'For as folks say,
The moon has no pony of its own:
The morning star and the evening star,
They are the ponies of the moon.'

The Twin horses as Morning and Evening Stars.

It will be seen that the Morning and Evening Stars are clearly distinguished, and that they are at the same time identified with the Sons of God, who liberate the daughter of the Sun.

Perkunas and the oak-tree.

Now let us turn to another point which comes out very clearly in the early European mythology, the identification of the sky-god or thunder-god with the tree-god (oak-god). For instance, the name Perkunas (= Perkuno), which we identify as an oak-name in Lithuanian, is also the name of the thunder. The thunder is animistically in the oak: in that sense it is the oak.

Now one does not have to go far in the story of Dioscurism before one comes upon the sacred tree: in Northern Europe it is the oak-tree; at Sparta, there is some reason for believing that the Heavenly Twins (and therefore their sire) were lodged in the wild pear-tree[1]. When Castor was killed in the conflict which he and his brother had with the Messenian twins, Idas and Lynceus, he was hidden in a hollow oak-tree, where he was detected by Lynceus and shot[2].

Twin-pillars for twin-trees.

Nor was the case different in Palestine, where the most sacred tree, in a land where many trees were sacred, was the oak at Mamre, where Abraham had entertained the three angels. The cult-representations of the twins involved commonly a pillar or a pair of pillars (as amongst the Phoenicians, and, under their direction, in the temple at Jerusalem, or in the temple at Paphos): and, as is now commonly recognised, such a pillar would be the representative of the sacred tree. When a sacred bird is perched on a sacred pillar[3], it will commonly be the thunder-bird on the thunder-tree. Thus, when at Picenum (Woodpecker-town) they worshipped a woodpecker on a pillar, the name of the town shows that we are dealing with Dioscuric matter. In all probability Picenum was an ancient twin-town, just like Rome itself.

As we have already pointed out, the great Cretan sarcophagus, discovered by the Italians at Hagia Triada, tells the same tale of twin-cult and thunder-cult; for here we have represented, perhaps 1500 years before Christ,

[1] It may have been only an occasional manifestation.

[2] See Pindar, *Nem.* x. 61, *δρυὸς ἐν στελέχει ἥμενον*.

[3] For woodpecker on pillar, see Dion. Hal. i. 14; Strabo, v. 240.

a pair of cult pillars surmounted by birds and double axes, every part of the symbolic representation being written in the Dioscuric language.

We have shown in a previous chapter the importance of the Holy Oak in the story of the making and manning of the first ship, when the twins learnt from the woodpeckers (or knew because they themselves were woodpeckers) how to make the original dug-out canoe in which man first made his voyage on the water. The suggestion is that the hollow oak is higher in sanctity than the unhollowed tree. It discharges religiously a greater variety of functions.

The oak as ship and as temple.

This hollowed oak is not merely the first ship (Gk *ναῦς*) but, as Schrader points out, it is also the original temple (*ναός*). Here the primitive man looked for his thunderbolts, and here he preserved them[1].

We have already alluded to the belief in Brittany that the worst storms can be allayed by means of twin-apples which are preserved in a hollow oak. Here the twin-apples are a vegetable representation of the Twins, and they are kept in the oak, because the hollow oak is the sanctuary of the Thunder-god and his two children.

The oak-tree as bee-hive.

It is, perhaps, from the same quarter that we get the explanation of a point which has perplexed me not a little, the connection between the Twins and honey. There is certainly some explanation required, for the Açvins in the Rig-Veda are constantly spoken of in a way which shows that they have something to do with honey. Macdonell, in his *Vedic Mythology*, sums the matter up as follows (p. 49):

The Twins and honey.

'Of all the gods the Açvins are most closely connected with honey (madhu) with which they are mentioned in many passages. They have a skin filled with honey, and the birds which draw them abound in it (4. 45 $^{3.4}$). They poured out a hundred jars of honey (1. 117 ^{6}). Their

[1] In Belgium in the province of Limbourg 'belemnites are regarded as *pierres de tonnerre*; the peasants assert that they are found in hollow trees, and are thrown down there by the lightning.' *Rev. des trad. populaires* (quoted in Blinkenberg, p. 102), XVII. p. 416.

honey-goad (1. 122[3], 159[4]), with which they bestrew the sacrifice and the worshipper, is peculiar to them.'

The explanation which I suggest is that the sacred tree makes the connection between the Dioscuri and the honey. The hollow tree was the first bee-hive as well as the first ship. To this very day in all parts of England, a bee-hive is called a *skip*, which means a naturally or artificially hollowed tree[1]. Thus the bees are to be found in the neighbourhood of the twins and the thunder, and this is a sufficient explanation of the recurrence in the Rig-Veda of references to the twin-horsemen and honey. In Latin the bee-hive is *alveus*, the very name given to the hollowed trunk in which Romulus and Remus were set adrift. Vergil poetically uses *alveus* sometimes for *ship*[2].

It is natural to suppose that in very early times, man did not have the trouble of making his own bee-hive; it was made for him by nature: he did not even cut it down: accordingly Hesiod tells us that, amongst the blessings that attend the upright, we may include the plentiful production of food from the earth, abundance of acorns from the top of the mountain-oak, and bees[3] from the midmost bark. Here the tree is hollow but still standing, and the bees occupy the interior. The tree is already an *alveus* or a *skip*. In Palestine, the bee-hive remains unknown for a very long while. Honey is found but not produced: as in the case of Samson, and in the proverb, 'Hast thou found honey?'

The hollow oak and the beaver.

It has already been pointed out[4] that we may look in the direction of the sacred and hollow oak for the meaning of the Greek name Castor, given collectively sometimes to the Twins, as the Castors. No satisfactory explanation has ever been given of this name; perhaps the most plausible was to

[1] See further on this point, on p. 328 *infra*.

[2] *Aeneid*, VI. 412.

[3] *Op. et Dies*, 232—3,

τοῖσι φέρει μὲν γαῖα πολὺν βίον, οὔρεσι δὲ δρῦς
ἄκρη μέν τε φέρει βαλάνους, μέσση δὲ μελίσσας.

[4] *Supra*, p. 296.

connect it with a gloss of Hesychius; according to which *κέστορε* was explained as 'brothers.'

Since, however, the art of felling trees might be said to be learned from the beaver in the same way as the art of hollowing them from the woodpecker, the very same causes which would identify the twins with a pair of woodpeckers might lead to their being styled a pair of beavers.

CHAPTER XXXII

OF THE HEAVENLY TWINS IN GRAECO-ROMAN TRADITION

Graeco-Roman twin-cults.

A COMPARISON of the Twin-cults of the various Greek and Roman cities and states shows remarkable independence, and at the same time fundamental agreement. Every place has twins amongst its heroes and demi-gods but every place appears to name them differently. The twins of Rome are not borrowed from Sparta in the first instance, Romulus (Romus) and Remus have nothing to do with Castor and Pollux, except to be displaced by them; yet they agree with them in the peculiarity that one of them is of human parentage, and one of divine, even if they do not agree exactly as to the definition of the divine parent, whether he is Jupiter or Ares.

Differences and agreements.

In the same way, the twins of Messene, though next door neighbours to Sparta, are not the same; their names vary, and Idas and Lynceus are mortal enemies of Castor and Pollux. The twins of Elis, the Moliones, appear to be altogether pre-Dorian, and out of the current of the Laconian tradition: and as for Thebes, the Boeotian twins agree with the Spartan chiefly in the fact that, in either pair, one of them is a man of violence and force, and the other a relatively more gentle creature, so that Zethos and Amphion may be compared on the one hand with Castor and Pollux, and on the other with Esau and Jacob. Yet the Thebans swear by their twins (*νὴ τὼ σιώ*) just as the Spartans by theirs. More might be said on the mixture of agreement and difference presented by these various pairs; but enough has been said to show that many tribes and clans must have

brought down the twin-tradition out of the past, and that the twins of remote time were probably without personal names, being known as the *Great Twin Brethren*, or the *Sons of the Thunder*, or some such terms, and acquiring special names as time went on, and as their functions became more clearly recognised or appealed to. Thus Idas and Lynceus are twins expressing the idea of far-sight and sharp-sight, and it is easy to see that they have obtained their titles as children of the all-seeing Sky.

Physiology of twin-birth.

One of the points that comes out most clearly in the Graeco-Roman traditions is the belief in the double paternity of twins. On this point it may be convenient to make a few notes. In the first place, it is physiologically possible, though not physiologically necessary. Twins may arise from the development of two ova, or from the unusual segmentation of a single ovum. In the former case we shall, especially if a second parent be introduced, have a prospect of unlike twins; in the latter an almost exact likeness, and of the same sex. The question has recently been discussed by Mr R. Clement Lucas in his Bradshaw lecture on *Some points in Heredity*[1]. The latter are known as *identical twins*: the former may be called *coincident twins*. How striking the identity can be may be seen from a tale which Mr Lucas tells of twins who entered as medical students at the same date, and passed the examinations of the Royal Colleges and those of the M.B. and M.S. Lond., at the same time. The totals of their marks turned out to be almost identical. In the opinion of seventeen examiners their abilities were indistinguishable or identical.

Two kinds of twins, identical, and coincident.

Now the primitive anthropologist knows nothing of the physiology of the matter, but he has his eyes open to see what occurs in his family, and he describes twins according to these two groups. Some are identical and some variant. Castor and Pollux are identical in appearance, at least when they are transferred to coins; but in Greek legend Pollux is the fighter, and Castor the cab-driver; that is, they are not

The assumption of double paternity.

[1] See *Lancet* for Dec. 23rd, 1911.

really identical. With the Açvins, we get general identity, but here again difference of function can be detected by the statement that 'one was born here and the other there.' The question to be asked in any case is whether they are both sky-born, or one from the sky and the other from the earth. Now the Graeco-Roman tradition, as we have said, is emphatic for double paternity. It is always stated, or else can be inferred from the difference of form and function. Let us take a few cases.

Zeus disowns Castor.

Pindar tells us in a fine passage that Zeus disclosed the parentage of Castor, when Pollux pleaded that he might be restored to life or promoted after death[1]:

'Quickly back to his mighty brother came the hero Polydeuces, and found him not yet dead, but shuddering and gasping in his breath. Then weeping hot tears, with groans he lifted up his voice aloud. "O father Zeus son of Cronos, what deliverance is possible from my sorrow? Send death to me also, O King, along with him. For honour is gone from a man bereft of friends, and few are faithful in affliction, to share our burdens therein." And Zeus came to meet him, and uttered these words: "Thou art my son, but as for this man, a hero-husband begat him from thy mother. But come! I offer thee a choice between two lots. If thou wilt escape death and hateful old age, and dwell in Olympus with me and with Athena, and with Ares of the dark spear, this fortune is thine. But if thou strivest for thy brother, and art minded to portion out to him an equal share in all things, then half the time thou mayest draw thy breath with him beneath the earth, and half the time he may dwell with thee in the golden halls of heaven." Thus spake Zeus, and Polydeuces set no divided counsel in his mind, but straightway unsealed the lips and then the eyes of bronze-clad Castor[2].'

In the same way the parentage of Zethos and Amphion is declared to be diverse, half human and half divine:

[1] Pindar, *Nem.* x.

[2] Pindar, *Nem.* x., quoted by Clapp in the *Hibbert Journal* for Jan. 1910. I correct the translation where necessary.

Amphion being in this case the divine twin, born of Zeus and Antiope: so Pausanias, quoting from the poet Asius[1].

In the *Cypriaca* (quoted by Clement of Alexandria[2]) Castor is affirmed to be mortal and Pollux immortal:

Κάστωρ μὲν θνητός, θανάτου δέ οἱ αἶσα πέπρωται·
Αὐτὰρ ὃ γ' ἀθάνατος Πολυδεύκης·

against which Clement protests, saying that Homer is much more to be trusted, who makes both the twins mortal.

The Roman twins.

In the Roman legend, the divine sire has assumed the parentage of both twins, but that this is a later development appears from the fact that only one of them is immortal, viz. Romulus, and the other, Remus, very decidedly mortal. Accordingly Ovid represents Jupiter as promising immortality to *one* of the children of Mars:

> 'Unus erit, quem tu tolles in caerula caeli'
> Tu mihi dixisti: sunt rata dicta Iovis:
> Juppiter annuerat. *Fasti*, ii. 487.

This means that only one of the young gentlemen was expected in Heaven, and entitled to admission.

Twin-mother unchaste?

The story of the exposure of Romulus and Remus on the Tiber, and the killing of their mother, is the lowest stratum of all, as can be seen by the African parallels. The story of the Vestal Virgin, however, who was unfaithful to her calling, is a later stage of the mythology: the tradition as to 'immortality for one' implies that there was not only a divine sire, but a human parent somewhere, whose wife had been unfaithful to him, or who had come under some second influence: i.e. she was not a Vestal. We have seen how widespread this belief is amongst savage peoples. It is not confined to people of low civilisation. I see it stated that 'even in mediaeval Scotland it was considered impossible that the mother of twins could have been faithful to her

[1] Pausanias, quoted in *Dioscuri*, p. 18.
[2] *Protrept.* (p. 26, ed. Potter).

husband, for two children implied two fathers[1].' The same belief is proverbial in Denmark: there it is said

'Foder Kvinde to.
Giver God tilkende at hien er sin mand utro.'
'If a woman gives birth to two,
God shows she is to her man untrue[2].'

The Greek legend as to the divided immortality which Zeus conferred on the two brethren is, perhaps, the reason why, in art, the Heavenly Twins have become exactly like. It seems pretty clear that originally they were diverse. Indeed, we may expect that divine-human twins will be diverse. The most striking case will be Herakles and Iphikles, the former a hero of the first water, the latter a mere weakling.

Twins like and unlike in Art.

When it is a question of fine art, the representation of twins to the eye will often require diversity of treatment, and result in decided variations. In such cases they will become unlike from like: a good instance will be the case of Hypnos and Thanatos, to which Miss Harrison has drawn my attention. That Death and his brother Sleep should be twins, is a beautiful poetical conception[3]: but in the treatment of the subject we find that Death and Sleep, who are twins in Homer, begin to be differentiated on Attic lekythoi by the beginning of the fifth century B.C. (See Roscher, s.v. *Hypnos*.) Hypnos is young and beardless. Thanatos, adult and bearded. On another line of evolution, Hypnos became an ancient man who holds the sleeper in his arms. On sarcophagi, he becomes an old man leaning on a stick[4]. Although Homer does not recognise the divine parentage of Pollux, he is very decided that when a god does condescend to amalgamation with the human race, twins are likely to result. So perhaps Homer knew more than he cared to tell. The following instances will show his

[1] Hastings, *Encyc. Relig. and Ethics*. I. 4, sub voce *Abandonment*.

[2] See Troelsund, *Daglig Liv I Norden*, VIII. 22, reference kindly given by Dr Feilberg.

[3] 'We thought her dying when she slept,
And sleeping when she died.'—Hood.

[4] For further suggestions on twin-diversity, see *Cult*, p. 91.

mode of treatment; they are taken from a hundred lines in the eleventh book of the Odyssey, and seem to show that when a god intervenes, twins are to be expected:

ll. 235—257. The case of Tyro: τέξεις ἀγλαὰ τέκνα.

ll. 260—265. Case of Antiope, mother of Zethos and Amphion.

ll. 266—270. Case of Alkmena; only Herakles is mentioned, but Iphikles turns up in l. 290.

ll. 298—304. Case of Leda, with Castor and Polydeuces. (Perhaps this case should be excluded as they are both said to be children of Tyndareus.)

ll. 305—320. Case of Iphimedeia, καὶ ῥ' ἔτεκεν δύο παῖδε, viz. Otus and Ephialtes.

In all these cases, the intervention of a god results in twins; this is Homer's way of saying that when twins have occurred, it is reasonable to assume that a god has intervened.

Here is one particularly interesting case which forms the basis of one of the lost tragedies of Euripides, the *Melanippe*. According to the story, Melanippe was the wife of Hellen; but during the absence of her husband who was in exile, expiating a murder, she had brought forth twins to the god Poseidon. Poseidon advised the exposure of the children, and they were accordingly given to the herdsmen to make away with. They were, however, defended by one of the bulls of the herd, and suckled by a cow, a theme with which we are familiar. The ox-herds, suspecting bovine parentage, report the matter to the king, as being of the nature of a portent. The king consults Hellen, who has now returned, and on his advice directs that the twins shall be burnt alive. So the play opens with Melanippe's protests. The story is interesting, because both the twins are supposed to belong to Poseidon, and because we have the two stages of treatment of twins in view at once. At first sight you would say that Poseidon is acting in a very ungodlike as well as unfatherly manner, in directing the exposure of the children.

The case of Melanippe.

On the contrary, he stands for mercy: and the normal treatment, combustion, is represented by Hellen. We have the two stages side by side[1].

The next subject that seems to require attention is the totemistic features associated with twin-birth. For instance, we have in the case of Romulus and Remus, as pseudo-parents, the Wolf and the Woodpecker. Of these the Woodpecker has been explained, he is the original parent of the twins, and while he has evolved into Zeus, they have become men. No explanation, as far as I know, has yet been forthcoming for the wolf. Castor and Pollux show a suspicious intrusion of a beaver-cult: and I have made a suggestion that the beaver and the woodpecker might belong in the story together.

Twins and totems.

Greek bird-totems.

But what shall we say of the swan-parentage of Castor and Pollux; for their mother Leda was a swan-maiden, and wooed by Zeus as a swan. Is there any clue to the origin of this piece of mythology? The swan can hardly be a thunder-bird, and still less can a goose, which appears in some ancient monuments as Leda's partner. Or is it possibly the totem or clan animal of the Dorians, or of one of their tribes? These questions are not easy of solution. I will venture a few remarks in favour of a belief in the existence of totems, and of bird-totems especially, among the ancient Greeks. Here is a case that deserves study and careful consideration.

Fick's theory that the Leleges were European as well as Asiatic.

It has been conjectured by Fick that the Leleges, of whom Homer speaks, a mysterious and elusive race, were the real founders of Sparta and the patrons of the Tyndaridae[2]. He argues that it is very difficult to explain by Greek analogies a great number of names which occur in ancient Greece, and that such names should be referred to prehistoric migrations, of Pelasgians, Leleges, Cretans, etc. The Leleges, in particular, were in close connection with the Hittites of Asia Minor, and especially with the Lycians: they occupied the west side of the Aegean from Epirus to

[1] For the argument of the play and the opening verses see Rabe, *aus Rhetoren-Handschriften*, in *Rhein. Mus.* LXIII. 1, pp. 145, 146.

[2] Fick, *Vorgriechische Ortsnamen*, p. 58.

Cape Malea. He assumes that they had come over Parnassus, and had swarmed into Euboea and Megaris, occupied the Cyclades and the coast of Asia Minor as far as Lycia. An examination of place names, east and west of the Aegean, suggests a connection between two parallel movements on opposite sides of the sea[1].

Leleges and Pelasgi.

Now Mr A. B. Cook has suggested that the mysterious Leleges are only another name for the Pelasgi, and that the Pelasgi may be interpreted as an ancient form of Pelargi, in which case they are simply storks. We may, if we please, say that the storks were the totem of the clan, or explain it in some other way.

The Pelasgi are storks.

Now with regard to the supposition that the Pelasgi are storks, it can be rendered very probable by the observation that Pelargos is a Greek name for the stork, and that to this day the Arabs of North Africa call the stork by the name of *Bellarij*, which is only a slight dislocation of *Pelargi*[2]. The name Pelargi would therefore seem to have been widely current in the Mediterranean: and as Pelasgi can be equated philologically with Pelargi, we have the meaning of the name with reasonable certainty. It has left its mark on the Mediterranean.

The Leleges are storks.

Now return to the Leleges. If Mr Cook is right in identifying the Pelasgi with the Leleges, may we take the further step and say that the Leleges are storks also?

The answer is in the affirmative: any one who has travelled in the East and has watched the storks and heard their note (which is almost exactly *lek-lek*), will understand why the Asiatic Arabs call them by the name of *Laq-laq*. For Leleges, then, we write an earlier Greek form *Legleges*, and translate the word as *storks*. The dropping of the first *g* sound can be observed to this day in Asia Minor. On a recent journey I noticed that at Ancyra they call the stork *leylek*; and the same pronunciation was recorded in Philadelphia, where the storks build on the ruined city walls, and walk about the bazaars unmolested, their red beaks and

[1] Fick, l.c. pp. 134 sqq.

[2] See Dozy s.v. *cigogne*, and note the varieties of spelling and vocalisation of the word.

red legs being very conspicuous. The Modern Greek name for the stork is λελέκι, which agrees closely with the foregoing observations[1]. It follows that the Pelasgi and the Leleges are the same bird-tribe of the same migration from the north. This is an important point gained. But are they the original founders of Sparta? We are now on less certain ground; Fick presses the occurrence of certain religious cults, which occur in Leukas, Megara, and Ikaria. He thinks they worshipped either the Sun, or a Sun-bird; over and above their solar cult, they had a great reverence for twin-deities, and Fick proceeds to identify cult-centres of such deities; for example, he recognises, as we have done in *Cult of the Heavenly Twins*[2], that Amphissa, the capital of the Western Locrians, was a centre of twin-worship, and, having made that discovery, without positively saying that the twin-centres are the places of the Leleges, he suggests that the twin-worship of Sparta belongs to the same people, and that the Tyndaridae are patron-saints of the Leleges. On Fick's theory, the original Spartans were worshippers of the Sky-bird (Solar-bird) and his two assessors, the so-called Tyndaridae. To this there are some objections; first of all, the Tyndarids, if they belong to a bird-clan at all, are of the swan-clan and not of the stork-clan; and next, it has been abundantly shown that twin-worship does not belong to any special race or tribe, but that it is the common characteristic of practically all the races of mankind. It seems to be more likely that the swan migration is independent of the stork migration.

The Leleges not Spartan.

I have spent some time in drawing attention to Fick's researches, because they are marked by great learning and insight. Even where they do not reach final conclusions with regard to the early Hellenic migrations, they point the way for them[3].

[1] See Thompson, *Glossary of Greek Birds*, p. 127.

[2] p. 139.

[3] Since writing the foregoing chapter, I find that I have been anticipated in my explanation of the Leleges by Gleye, *Die ethnologische Stellung der Lykier*, p. 8, 'Die Namen vieler Völker des Altertums auf Vogelnamen zurückgehen. Ich verweise auf den Namen der Leleger (assyr. *lakalaku*, Storch), etc.'

CHAPTER XXXIII

SOME FURTHER POINTS OF CONTACT BETWEEN GRAECO-ROMAN BELIEFS AND SAVAGE LIFE

THE attempt which we made to collect and classify the beliefs of African tribes with regard to the worship of the thunder, and the danger or helpfulness of twin children, has at least this advantage, that it brings out parallels of all sorts with similar European beliefs and customs, and helps us to understand the evolution of the latter in a way that we could not have done without the African parallels.

Parallels between African and European Twin-cults.

The most striking case was one of the first that we detected, the equivalence of the Bana-ba-tilo of the Baronga, with the Greek Dioscuri and the Palestinian Boanerges. There are, however, many minor parallels. For instance, Mr Dudley Kidd tells us that in certain parts of South Africa, in war-time, it is the custom to send twins in advance of the main line of the army. 'In war-time, a twin used to be hunted out, and made to go right in front of the attacking army, some paces in front of the others. He was supposed to be fearless and wild[1].' One thinks of the Spartan army marching with the Dokana or emblems of the twins carried in front of them, as well as of the presence of the two Spartan kings, who were the civil and military representatives of Castor and Pollux. The Roman tradition that the consuls must go to war is on the same line. The consuls also represent the twins, and must do duty for them.

Twins and truth.

A more interesting case is the persistence of early ideas as to what makes valid swearing and effective cursing. The

[1] Dudley Kidd, *Savage Childhood*, pp. 45 sqq.

oath is a very early feature of human life, and it was probably necessary as well as ancient. I have shown in *Cult* the care which the twins take over truth, and those who, under suitable conditions, speak the truth: and I have pointed out that it is on account of their relation to the all-seeing sky and the all-dreaded thunder, that an oath which involves an appeal to the twins is effective. To punish the perjurer was indeed a high calling; to perform one's vows, or be made to perform them, has a high place in the evolution of ethics.

There are West African savages, to whom lying is as easy—'as easy as lying[1],'—who would never perjure themselves if a thunderstone were in the neighbourhood: the 'all-dreaded thunderstone' of Shakespeare involved the dread of being found out by the Thunder himself who inhabited the stone[2]. Is it a mere accidental coincidence, then, that makes the Roman swear by Jupiter Lapis? Blinkenberg points out excellently that 'the most solemn oath of the Romans was that sworn by the name of Juppiter Lapis....' The sacred stone was used in Rome when the Fetiales took the oath and made sacrifice upon the formation of a new alliance with a foreign power. Such an alliance, according to the Roman view, received its highest sanction from the lightning-god himself[3].

Liars dread the thunderstone.

From these, and other examples of swearing by the thunder, the antiquity and continuity of the practice can be inferred[4]. The same note of antiquity is heard in the cursings and in the blessings which men invoke on one another and on themselves. Here we find the twins in evidence at a very early period of human living. It was pointed out by de Cardi, in his paper on *Ju-ju laws and customs on the Niger Delta*, that we had in West Africa, not only curses in vocal form, but also symbolic actions: one of

Symbolic cursing in W. Africa.

[1] Shakespeare, *Hamlet*.

[2] Monrad, *Skildring af Guinea-Kysten*, p. 115, quoted in Blinkenberg, p. 8.

[3] Vergil, *Aen.* XII. 200, 'audiat haec genitor, qui foedera fulmine sancit.'

[4] See Blinkenberg, *Thunder-weapon*, pp. 31, 106, 111.

these actions consists in holding up two fingers to a woman, and means, 'may you become the mother of twins,' and involves the imprecation of the terrible fate that awaits the woman who brings forth twin children[1].

But it is not only women who can have the twin-curse put over them. We have already reported how Captain Smith records his observations in the Gulf of Guinea on the same subject. To call a man a twin was the greatest insult. Smith saw an unhappy slave cursed by the chief of the tribe by two fingers of his extended arm, and explains the terror of the situation. To revile a man as being a twin is near neighbour to cursing him that he may, in his offspring, become twins; and, from the curse in which twins are assumed hateful, we easily pass over to the stage in which the twins, as demigods, become the court of appeal in the matter of a vengeance desired, or a justification demanded. Nor need we be surprised that the simple and expressive symbol of the two fingers has become permanent. It is one of the forms under which a Roman Catholic considers himself under moral obligation to tell the truth; and not only Roman Catholics, but Protestants also make use of the symbol. In Holland it is the custom to raise two fingers of the right hand in the court of law, and say, 'As truly may help me Almighty God.' It is a modified twin-oath.

Oaths by the Twins.

It might have been anticipated that the Church would not have been less conservative than the law: in fact, our ecclesiastical superiors, when they give the benediction, do it with two fingers raised, which means either (1) May you all have twin children! or (2) May the twins themselves bless you and take care of you! We can take our choice between the explanations. All these customs are survivals and developments from the ways of the primitive savage man, approximately as we find him in West Africa.

Blessings by the Twins.

Swearing by the twins is certainly very ancient and very widespread. I have written on this at some length in *Dioscuri* and in *Cult.* Here is a striking example which has not, I think, been cited before, of oaths by St Thomas among

Syrians swear by St Thomas

[1] *Journ. Anthrop. Soc.* 1899, p. 57.

the Syrians of Mesopotamia, which will serve as one more illustration of the place of St Thomas in the succession of the Heavenly Twins.

Isaac of Antioch tells us in one passage, in which he reproves the Christians for preferring an oath by St Thomas to any other, that 'if it is a question of giving or accepting an oath, we scorn to take it in the Church, but the other refuses to recognise it, saying, "I will not believe you, *unless you swear in the chapel of Thomas the Apostle*[1]."' In the beginning of the fifth century, then, Thomas was the residuary legatee of the Heavenly Twins among the Mesopotamian Christians.

If Thomas was the saint to swear by in Mesopotamia, the great substitute for the twins in the Greek and Latin Churches was St Polyeuctes of Melitene in Armenia. I have explained in *Dioscuri*[2] the reason for the sudden emergence of Polyeuctes into public honour as a referee in disputed matters, and have shown that he is only Polydeuces slightly disguised. Since then there have been attempts made to show that he is something more than a mere ecclesiastical double of Pollux, and to retain historic semblance for his fleeting shade; it has, however, come out that the real reason for the connection of Polyeuctes with Melitene is that he belonged to the famous *Legio XII Fulminata*, which was quartered there, over which there has been so much dispute in the Church's history. Naturally a thunder-struck legion is under the patronage of the Sons of Thunder, and has the duty and credit of obtaining rain when wanted: and therefore Pollux, the pagan saint of the situation, has to be got rid of in that legion, when the legion itself becomes Christian. Hence his transformation from Polydeuces to Polyeuctes.

or by Polyeuctes.

[1] For the Syriac text, see Isaac of Antioch, *Hymns* (ed. Bickell), pp. 188—191.

[2] p. 55.

CHAPTER XXXIV

SOME FURTHER REMARKS ABOUT TWIN-TOWNS AND TWIN-SANCTUARIES

Twin-towns formed,

It has been conclusively shown that there was a natural tendency in some parts of West Africa towards the formation of twin-towns and twin-sanctuaries. As soon as ever the taboo on twins was modified, so as to spare the life of either the mother or the twins, and to substitute for death an expulsion in the form of a banishment to some special place, we have the conditions for the formation of a twin-town, and such towns can actually be seen in process of formation in West Africa at the present day. Any one who will share the taboo of the expelled women and children, as, for example, a runaway slave, will find shelter which no one will dare to invade, and sanctuary rights which no one will dispute. The secret of sanctuary is taboo, and here we have a sufficiently potent taboo to hand.

not always permanent.

It is, however, a curious point in the development of which we speak, that it becomes arrested if the taboo should be so far raised as to become terminable.

If the woman has a right to return after a lapse of a given number of months or years, or if the children, after a sufficient absence and purification, can be claimed by the male parent (supposed not banished), then the building of the twin-village is arrested, except in so far as a succession of expelled or isolated twin-mothers finds its way to the same spot. So the modification of the taboo, if carried far enough, arrests

Not common in E. Africa,

the development of the twin-town. I suppose this is the reason why we have not traced such settlements in East Africa; they could not arise where twins were regarded favourably, and where the taboo was reduced to a mere formal purification by the witch doctor. It will follow with great probability that if in European countries we find abundant traces of twin-towns, we may infer that the period of savagery in the twin-cult was longer amongst our own ancestors than is the case for many Bantu tribes to-day. The custom of permanent banishment of the twin-mother must have been long continued, and must have operated over a wide area.

but common in Europe.

How, then, shall we recognise the surviving traces of such twin-towns?

Twin-towns recognised by name,

The first and simplest way is when a place is called Twin-town, either directly, or by a very slight modification. We need have little hesitation in saying that Didyma was an original twin-town. When in later times its name was changed to Branchidae, and a great sanctuary was built to Apollo, the god was known as Apollo Didymaeus, or Apollo of Didyma. As Apollo is himself a twin, and often, as at Delos, has twins preceding him in his cult centre, there is no difficulty in the statement that Apollo of Branchidae displaces an earlier cult of twins.

Less obvious is the case when the twin-element of the place-name is obscured. We have, however, shown so conclusively that in human names the prefix Amphi means 'twin,' that we can hardly avoid the extension of the interpretation to place-names. In this way we at once recognised Amphissa and Amphipolis. Fick's researches confirmed our interpretation as to Amphissa. There is, however, another direction of confirmation, viz. the discovery of traces of a twin-cult in the twin-town.

by cult-survivals.

Amphigeneia.

For example, we have shown that Amphion is an equivalent form of Amphigenes, and means 'twin.' What shall we say then of Amphigeneia, which was one of Nestor's cities. Strabo says the city was situated in Macistia near the river Hypsoeis, and that in his time

there was a temple of Leto in the place. That is to say, there was a surviving twin-cult, for Leto is a twin-mother.

Amphissa. Of Amphissa Pausanias tells us that the place was a centre of a cult of the Ἄνακτες, which may mean either the Dioscuri, or the Kabiri or the Kuretes; Pausanias[1] says that people were not agreed as to which of these ancient cults was represented in Amphissa. From our point of view they are all originally twin-cults.

Delos. With regard to the origin of Delos as a sanctuary, I fancy that I have not carried all my critics with me in affirming it to be an original twin-sanctuary. It must be admitted, however, that the case is a strong one. As we said just now, Leto is a twin-mother: according to the myth, no other island would receive her, which is very much like saying that the island is a twin-island. Apollo and Artemis discharge some of the regular functions of twins: he is the musician and answers to Amphion of Thebes, and she is the huntress and answers to Zethos and to Esau. If we could believe that Apollo had an Eastern origin, and could accept Hommel's derivation of him from the Semitic Jubal, the case would practically be proved. There is, however, still something more to be said on this score: for Apollo is not exactly a secondary god, like Palaimon of Corinth for Baal Yam (Lord of the Sea). There is, however, another direction of evidence. Apollo and Artemis have displaced a pair of white maidens from the north, named Hyperoche and Laodike, whose male counterparts, a pair of great brethren, have a prominent place in the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi. Where twins displace twins, it is not absurd to say that the island where the cult changes is originally a twin-island. I have not laid stress on the proofs that the Dioscuri were actually worshipped at Delos, because that may be the natural devotion of a sea-faring people, or an importation from some famous twin-centre outside Delos. For example, a Delian inscription[2] speaks of the Samothracian Great Gods, the Dioscures, the Kabirs.

[1] Pausanias, x. 38, 7.

[2] Dittenberger, *Sylloge* 430.

The inscription is valuable for the equation of the Dioscuri with the Kabiri, and for giving us the translation of Kabiri, and for identifying them with the Samothracian cult, but it proves nothing for Delos, except the migration of a ritual from its normal centre.

Delphi?

Does a similar reasoning apply to Delphi? I do not know yet whether Delphi is the same as Adelphi: so that I cannot say more than that Delphi is a shrine of the twin Apollo, has two sets of twin heroes in its enclosure, and is geographically dominated by twin peaks. Whether any of these facts explains Delphi, I am not at present able to decide.

Before leaving the Apollo and Artemis shrines, it is worth noting that the custom of liberating slaves in the temple of Artemis is a natural sequence to the fact that slaves who had sought sanctuary escaped from their masters in the original twin-towns.

We must not assume that every centre of Kabiric or Dioscuric worship is an original twin-town; but where we find that such a cult centre is also a recognised sanctuary, with a powerful overshadowing taboo, it is reasonable to believe that we are on the track of the twin-town, and especially in the case of island sanctuaries we may believe that we have penetrated to the origin of the cult; for we learnt from our West African observations that an island in a river is one of the favourite places of exportation of twin-brothers, and such islands become undoubted sanctuaries.

Samothrace a twin-island?

Perhaps this covers the case of Samothrace, one of the great sanctuaries of antiquity, and one of the great sanctuaries of Dioscuric-Kabiric worship. See what I have said on this in *Cult*, c. XVII.

Note further that Jason, whom we have shown reason to believe to be an original Kabir, has connecting links both with Lemnos and with Samothrace. One form of the variant tradition tells us that *Jasion* with his twin brother *Dardanos* came to Samothrace, and that here Jasion, who had become enamoured of Demeter, was struck by lightning for some

insult done to the goddess, whereupon Dardanos, in grief, migrated to Troas[1].

Dardanos and Jasion.

The intrusion of Dardanos is peculiar; we can hardly detach Jasion from Jason. The thunderbolt is also deserving of study: it is an explanation of something in an earlier cult. Aesculapius is also fulminate and there are parallel cases.

We have assumed above that Dardanos and Jasion were twin-brethren, belonging to the Samothracian mysteries. Servius, the commentator on Vergil, says definitely that Dardanos was sprung from Jove, and Jasios from Corythus[2]. Here, then, Dardanos is the Heavenly Twin, Jasios the earthly one. Corythus appears to be the crested wren, which is another form of thunder-bird.

Islands as twin-centres.

Islands at the mouth of rivers will, as we have said, frequently betray signs of Dioscurism, and will suggest primitive sanctuary; only we must be on our guard against confounding the Dioscureion to which sailors pray on leaving port, and its associated lighthouse and look-out station, with an original twin-settlement. We know that Rome is an original twin-sanctuary; the traditions as to its foundation betray the fact; several layers of twin-tradition lie one over the other, the destruction of the twins and their mother, the exile of the twins, the twins as creators of sanctuary; all of these can be easily made out. Curiously, the sanctuary is not where we should have expected it, on the island between the bridges, but on the Capitoline Hill. No doubt, however, exists that Rome is a twin-town. The identification is multiform and manifold.

Twin-cult at Ostia.

Down the river at Ostia is another island; it is sacred to the Dioscuri, and has an annual festival in their honour. In this neighbourhood twin-tradition accumulated.

When Minucius and his friends discuss Christianity at

[1] Apollod. *Bibl.* III. 12. 1: *Ἠλέκτρας δὲ τῆς Ἄτλαντος καὶ Διὸς Ἰασίων καὶ Δάρδανος ἐγένοντο. Ἰασίων μὲν οὖν ἐρασθεὶς Δήμητρος καὶ θέλων καταισχῦναι τὴν θεὸν κερανοῦται, Δάρδανος δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ θανάτῳ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ λυπούμενος, Σαμοθρᾴκην ἀπολιπὼν εἰς τὴν ἀντιπέρα ἤπειρον ἦλθεν.*

[2] Servius in Verg. *Aen.* III. 167: 'Dardanus de Jove, Jasius de Corytho procreatus est.'

Ostia, Cecilius points out[1], as an evidence for the ancient religion, that they are on the very spot where the Dioscuri from their panting horses announced the victory over King Perses. It would, however, be precipitate to identify Ostia or its island as a twin-sanctuary because it is a centre of twin-worship; for every great sea-port has its shrine of the Heavenly Twins, round which legends readily gather.

We shall be on safer ground inland, where the disturbing influence of sailors' religion is not felt. Among Italian names, we may be fairly sure that the district of Picenum is an original twin-sanctuary, for its name contains the Woodpecker (Picus), and its legendary history says that the founders of the state were guided in their migrations by a Woodpecker, and that this was why they worshipped a Woodpecker on a pillar. We easily recognise in this account the familiar features of twin-cult, the tree, the thunder-bird, the sanctuary.

Picenum.

The case of Picenum suggests to us that when we find a town named after the Woodpecker (or other thunder-bird) we have at least a presumption that the town is a twin-town. For instance, Pausanias tells us[2] that Keleos, the old king of Eleusis, lived at Keleai. Now Keleos (κελεός) is the green woodpecker: we must, therefore, speak of him as King Woodpecker, just as Ovid speaks of King Picus. Keleai is, then, the exact parallel to Picenum[3]. It is a Woodpecker-town, because Keleos is the green Woodpecker, and it is a twin-town because tradition actually makes Keleos the father of Triptolemos. The case is so important that we will devote a special chapter to it.

Keleai.

Praeneste.

Praeneste is, perhaps, a similar case; for here, too, the original worship was that of Divi Fratres, apparently without any names in the first instance, and accompanied, like Castor and Pollux, by their sister[4].

[1] l.c. c. 7.

[2] Pausanias, II. 14. 2.

[3] Miss Harrison (*Themis*, p. 101) suggests that Keleos is a rain-bird, as commonly in Northern legends: he is equally a thunder-bird.

[4] The reference is to Servius ad *Aeneid.* VII. 678: 'Praeneste...ibi erant pontifices et dii indigetes sicut etiam Romae: erant autem illic *duo fratres qui divi appellabantur: horum soror* dum ad focum sedebat, etc.'

Tibur, also, knew the twins, as we see from Vergil, *Aen.* VII. 670, and so did Tusculum, where Cicero[1] tells us that a thunderbolt once fell in their temple; but this does not necessarily identify either Tibur or Tusculum as an original twin-town. Tibur. Tusculum.

We may expect to find many more of such centres of early twin-worship, and some of them will certainly be sanctuaries.

Occasionally we shall find a mere rock in the sea with Dioscuric appellation, where it is almost certain that no real Dioscuric worship can have been practised, nor can a Dioscureion have existed; in such cases, the rock has probably been used for the exposure of twin-children.

Thus Pliny tells of a small island named Dioscoros[2]. The name is suspicious: an island called Heavenly Twin ought, naturally, to be what we call a twin-island. Such islands, if they are twin-islands, represent an earlier stratum of practice than that which underlies the formation of sanctuaries. The island Dioscoros.

Pausanias[3] tells a tale of a rock named Pephnos, where the Dioscuri were said to have been born: "From Thalamae it is a distance of twenty furlongs to a place on the coast called Pephnos. Off it lies an island also called Pephnos, no bigger than a large rock, and the people of Thalamae say that the Dioscuri were born upon it. I know that Alkman also says so in a song.... In the islet are bronze images of the Dioscuri, a foot high: they stand under the open sky; but the sea that breaks over the rock in winter will not wash them away." The persistent belief that the Twins are born on an island will be remarked. The rock Pephnos.

How far such twin-centres can be traced in the West of Europe it is difficult to say. Twin-cult can be made out all over France, by means of its survival in the saint-worship of the Roman Catholic Church; but towns actually named from twins are not easy to identify. There is, however, a town Jumeaux, in the Puy de Dôme, not far from Clermont

[1] *De Divinatione*, I. 43. 98.
[2] Pliny, *H. N.* III. 96.
[3] Tr. Frazer, IV. 26. 2.

Ferrand, and a similarly named Jumelle in Belgium, and no doubt others will be located.

Tomi as a twin-town?

There is one case in the geography of the East which raises some interesting questions. Not far from the mouth of the Danube we have Tomi: the visitor to Costanza will be reminded by a statue in the middle of the town that he is near the place of exile of Ovid the poet. It is an ancient settlement of the Milesians[1], if not of the Phoenicians. It was also an ancient centre of twin-worship[2], and the twins appear on the local coins. One of the forms of the Argonaut story brings Jason and his company on their return journey to Tomi, and actually takes them up the Danube.

The name is peculiar, in Greek it appears as Tomi, or Tomis, or Tomae. It is certainly not a Greek name; is it Scythian or Phoenician? One would readily suggest that it was the Semitic for 'twins' (Thomim), if it were not for the fact that the first vowel, in Greek and in Latin, is certainly short: and this seems to exclude the Phoenician solution. From the fact that the coins of Tomi sometimes bear the figure of an Amazon, I should suspect Scythian influence. We have referred above to the occurrence of the Twins on the local currency: on these coins they are commonly accompanied by the Mother of the Gods[3]. In an inscription from Tomi, a sacrifice is ordered to be performed every year in honour of the Mother of the Gods and the Dioscuri[4].

The Black Sea is well supplied with twin-centres, for the most part connected with Jason or later navigators. Wherever sailors go, the twins must accompany.

We were speaking a little while back of the identification of Woodpecker-towns, such as Keleai or Picenum.

It is interesting to note that the same occurrence of

[1] Ovid, *Trist.* III. VIII. 4.

[2] Ovid, *Trist.* I. X. 45:

> Vos quoque, Tyndaridae, quos haec colit insula, fratres,
> Mite precor duplici numen adesse viae.

Notice again the island as the Dioscuric centre.

[3] See *Beschreibung d. Berl. Mus. Münzen*, I. 89^{1}, $92^{12,13}$, 94^{21}.

[4] See Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, 529.

personal or place-names derived from the Woodpecker can be detected in the British Isles. For example, the name of Peake, and its cognate Picton, are Woodpecker names. In the same way the Peckover family are derived from an ancestor named after the Green Woodpecker, the French Picvert = the Italian Pico verde[1]. Woodpecker names in Great Britain.

Not far from Bridlington, in Yorkshire, there is a village named Speeton, on the edge of the Speeton sands, which are named after it. That this stands for an original Specht-town (Specht = Woodpecker in German) appears in several ways. First of all, there is in Barbados a place named Speightstown, which is either a direct transference and migration of an English original, or else it is a town named after a man called Speight, who is in that case a member of the Woodpecker clan. Second, it happens that Speeton is a very ancient place; it occurs in Speed's map of the beginning of the seventeenth century as Speeton chapel, but in the Domesday Book it is once written Spetton and once Specton, which is very nearly the required form, and once Spreton[2]. The name Speght is well known in English history; for instance there is Thomas Speght, one of the early editors of Chaucer: he is said to have been of a Yorkshire family. At the present moment there are four maiden ladies in Bridlington named Speight. Curiously, I do not think there is a single person in all Birmingham who bears the name.

[1] The designers of the Peckover coat-of-arms supplied, humorously, a pair of Woodpeckers for the support of the shield; apparently without knowing the meaning of the name.

[2] Domesday Book, p. 19a:

Bretlinton = Bridlington.
Frestintorp.
Bouinton.
Specton.

Again, pp. 86b, 87a:

Marton.
Bretlinton = Bridlington.
Bouintorp.
.....
Spetton.

Again, p. 4a:

Bouintone.
Grendale.
Spretone.

See J. Horsfall Turner, *Yorkshire Place Names*, pp. 50, 158.

CHAPTER XXXV

THE CASE OF KING KELEOS

Keleos, king of Eleusis,

We alluded in the previous chapter to the possibility of identifying twin-towns by means of the Woodpecker, after whom they were sometimes named, and after discussing the case of Picenum, in which etymology and tradition combined to lead us to a centre of worship of King Picus, we pointed out that there was a Greek parallel in the case of King Keleos of Eleusis, who ruled over a city named Keleai, for Keleos is the Greek name for the green woodpecker. Keleai is therefore a woodpecker-town.

was the Green Woodpecker.

His son was Triptolemos.

It was also a twin-town, for tradition says that when Demeter came to Eleusis, and had been hospitably received by King Keleos, she confided to Keleos and his family the sacred mysteries of Eleusis, and took Triptolemos under her special protection. This is intelligible enough, since Triptolemos is the Heavenly Ploughman, and Demeter the Corn Mother. One tradition says that Demeter attempted to make him immortal, another that Keleos, for some unexplained reason, wished to kill him. Another tradition tells of Jasion, who must be one of the Jason-Triptolemos pair, and how he became the darling of Demeter, and was thunderstruck as a punishment for his too great familiarity.

Keleai a twin-town.

It seems quite clear that the co-ordinating factor in these traditions is to be sought in the twin-cult, in which case, when we have identified the Woodpecker, the Twins and the Thunder, we can hardly refuse to call Keleai a twin-

town. We thus establish the formation of a twin-town in ancient Attica.

Now let us go a step further with the traditions concerning King Keleos. We are now going to show that the parallel between King Keleos and King Picus goes further than the names. We have already drawn attention to the story which Ovid tells of the transformation of King Picus into a woodpecker, and have explained the story as an artificial converse of the turning of the woodpecker into King Picus when the Thunder Bird became Thunder Man. We will now show that there was a similar transformation in the case of King Keleos, and point out some important results which follow from the interpretation of the parallel legend. Antoninus Liberalis has preserved for us (from Boios) the Cretan tradition of a visit paid by a certain Keleos and his companions to the holy birth-cave of Zeus, with the irreverent intention of stealing the honey of the sacred bees, who had nourished the infant god. The Thunder-god would have promptly struck the intruder dead, but Themis and the Moirai intervened, and pointed out to Zeus that the cave was a sanctuary, where no blood might be shed. So Zeus simply made Keleos into a Green Woodpecker, just as Circe had done to Picus. His companions had a similar fate.

Keleos went to Crete

to the cave of Zeus.

The meaning of the tradition is written clearly across its face:—Keleos is the Old Thunder, who has been displaced by the New: the ancient sanctuary, the Hollow Oak, has been replaced by a new sanctuary, the Hollow Rock, better suited to the now anthropomorphic Thunder; Keleos is informed that he is no longer the genius of the sanctuary: Zeus tells him plainly that 'this house will not hold thee and me,' and bids him begone. So much is clear: but with the explanation there come fresh questions requiring a further solution. We have to find out the meaning of the sacred bees, why they nurtured Zeus, and why Keleos wished to steal their honey. The first point to be noted is that, if the bees are there in the new sanctuary, they must have come from the old sanctuary. There is no difficulty in

Meaning of Keleos-story.

Bees nurture Zeus.

this, for although bees may naturally find their nests in a hollow oak, they are equally at home in the crevices of a rock-cave[1].

Bees and the Holy Oak.

The bees, then, pass over with the Thunder to the new Sanctuary. We did not know before that they were a part of the apparatus of the twin-cult and in the service of the Thunder, but it seems clear that such must be the case. We are studying a time which is earlier than bee-keeping in the modern sense: the hollow that makes the hive is natural, not artificial, just as it is still in many savage countries, where the natives get the honey by climbing for it, and in no other way.

The thunder-bird and the Bees.

Why then did the infant Zeus, and the intruding Keleos, both want the honey? The answer must be, since they are both of them the Thunder, that there is a connection between Thunder and Bees; this connection is stated by the tradition in the form that the Thunder-bird likes honey and so does the Thunder-man who displaces him. So we must go further afield, and find out whether there is such a connection between the Bird and the Bee, as seems necessary for the explanation of the new Cretan legend. We pointed out just now that such a legend antedates bee-keeping, in the modern sense of a bee-hive; the term *skip*[2], by which the country people denote a hive, betrays by its etymology that the first hive is a hollowed tree, just in the same way as the words *ship* and *skiff* betray the original dug-out canoe. Only there is this difference; if one wants a canoe, the tree must come down; *if one wants a bee-hive it can stay up*: and the evidence of customs of uncivilized or half-civilized people is conclusive that it stayed erect for a much longer period than would have been suspected. In the Ural Mountains and the Eastern provinces of Russia, the peasants

The first bee-hive.

[1] Mr A. B. Cook in an article on 'The Bee in Greek Mythology' (*Journal of Hellenic Society*, 1895, p. 18) quotes from the Scholiast on Nicander the remark that 'before bees had been domesticated, they used to construct their combs *in the hollows of the oak-tree* and they do so still on occasion.'

[2] We get almost the exact expression in Theocritus, *Idyll.* v. 58: Στασῶ δ' ὀκτὼ μὲν γαυλὼς τῷ Πανὶ γάλακτος, Ὀκτὼ δὲ σκαφίδας μέλιτος πλέα κηρί' ἐχοίσας.

artificially hollow the trees at a considerable height above the ground, and use the hollows thus made for the keeping of bees. They find, however, that they are obliged to protect their artificial bees' nests from the Woodpecker, who is as much interested in bee-keeping as themselves! If we can find out the reason for this, we shall solve the mystery of Keleos and the Sacred Bees in Crete. First let us collect the facts:—a reference to Latham's *General History of Birds*[1] will tell us something about the Woodpecker and his ways.

Woodpeckers destroy bees.

'The Great Black Woodpecker is so very destructive to bees that the Baschurians in the vicinity of the river Ufa, as well as the inhabitants of other parts, who form holes in the trees, twenty-five or thirty feet from the ground, where the bees may deposit their store, take every precaution to hinder the access of the bird, and in particular to guard the hive with sharp thorns; notwithstanding which the Woodpecker finds means to prove a most formidable foe, and is most numerous where the bees are in the greatest numbers.'

To this account there is appended the following valuable note:

'At Dschiggertau, on the Ural Mountains, there is a bee-hive almost on every one of the tallest pine-trees, and in these parts the Black Woodpecker abounds exceedingly, being attracted no doubt by the inhabitants of the hives.'

Now in what does the attraction consist? We see that the Woodpecker abounds where bees are plentiful, but why? The Greek legend suggests that the Woodpecker wants their honey; the ornithologist, on the other hand, suggests that it is the bees themselves. A little observation of the interior of the Woodpecker should settle that question, and prove that both suggestions are wrong. The Woodpecker is not a bee-eater (like the Merops) nor is it a honey-eater. What the Woodpecker is after is the larvae of the bees. We can see this by a reference to Gould, *Birds of Europe*, vol. III. where the food of the Great Black Woodpecker is described

They eat the larvae,

[1] Vol. III. p. 339:—quoted also in Gould's *Birds of Great Britain*, s.v. Great Black Woodpecker.

as consisting of '*the larvae of wasps, bees and other insects*: in addition, however, it devours fruits, berries and nuts with avidity.'

'In the same way the food of the Green Woodpecker [our friend Keleos] consists of insects, ants, snails, worms, etc., nor will it refuse fruits, walnuts and berries.'

The Great Spotted Woodpecker feeds on '*Larvae* and coleopterous insects in the bark of trees.' The same conclusion is arrived at, with great scientific detail, by the American Commission for enquiring into the food of the Woodpecker[1]. So it seems clear that it is the larvae of the bees and not their honey that the woodpecker is trying to get at. Apparently the Greeks did not observe the case closely enough to see this. The Woodpecker, then, and the Bees, find their home in the same hollow tree, and their connection with the tree, and with the Thunder, who animates the tree, is now made out.

not the honey.

In solving the Cretan riddle, we have dissipated incidentally a perplexity which occurred in the legends of the book of Judges in the Old Testament. It was natural to suggest that in the story of Baraq there might lurk a reference to the Lightning after whom he was named; and when it is noted that he is connected with a prophetess named Deborah (the Bee), who judges Israel under a sacred tree, the question arises whether the tree may not have been a Lightning Tree. In that case, what was Deborah doing there? The difficulty is removed by the previous investigation, which shows that the proper place for the Bee is the Sacred Tree.

Deborah the Bee.

We will conclude this chapter by returning to our own country and examining a little further into the names of places and persons which show descent from, or connection with, the Woodpecker. It is important to do this if we are to find out twin-towns covered by Woodpecker names, like Picenum and Keleai. We must first find out the popular names by which the Woodpecker is known in various parts

Woodpecker place- and person-names.

[1] Beal, *Food of the Woodpeckers of U.S.A.* 1911 (U.S. Depart. of Agriculture, Biol. Survey, Bull. 37).

of the country; we have already alluded to Speeton (= Speight-town) and to Picton. If we turn to Swainson's *Folk-lore and Provincial Names of British Birds* we shall find a number of curious popular names[1]. Speight, Pick,

For example, the Green Woodpecker is called Sprite in Suffolk, and it is called Woodspite in Norfolk. Spite is, evidently, the same as Specht, and Sprite is a corruption of it: but the variant is worth noting; for it explains why Speeton is called Spreton in one passage in the Domesday Book.

The bird is also called Woodspack, both in Norfolk and Suffolk; and here the variation in the spelling enables us to identify Spaxton in Somerset (near Bridgewater) as a Woodpecker-town. It is the exact equivalent of Speightstown in Barbados, though this latter is not really a Woodpecker-town, but simply a settlement named after an early colonist named Speight[2]. Spack,

In Oxfordshire the Woodpecker is called *Eccle*, which Swainson connects with the name *Hecco* given to the bird in Drayton's poem on the Owl: Eccle,

> 'The Crow is digging at his breast amain
> And sharp neb'd Hecco stabbing at his brain.'

It seems to mean Digger, and may be connected with the German Hack and Häckel. English names formed from it, betraying Woodpecker ancestry, are Eccles[3], Eccleston, Hack and Hatch. Hack, Hatch,

In Lincoln the bird is actually called the Wood-hatch. In Essex the name for the bird is Whetile, which we may connect with whittle, and, as Swainson suggests, with the Saxon *thwitan*, to cut. This form of the bird's name underlies the proper names Whitwell, Whitall, etc. Whitall,

[1] l.c. pp. 99, 100.

[2] This is certain, for the geography of Barbados shows also a Speights Bay, and in a list of the inhabitants of Barbados, who in the year 1638 possessed more than ten acres of land, I find the name of William Speight.

[3] Mr Horsfall Turner, in his *Yorkshire Place Names*, shows that these forms occur in Yorkshire, and that they have nothing to do with Ecclesia, p. 258, 'Ecalt, Ekil, Eccles, Ecles, Egles, Aikils, Eggles, Ayles, Eglus. It cannot be traced to Ecclesia, as the places never had or belonged to a church, with one exception.'

It was also known in ancient times as the Wood-awl, from its boring propensities, which explains the name Woodall. Woodall; Swainson connects this with the Woodweele in the ballad of Robin Hood and Guy of Gisborne.

> 'The Woodweele sang and wold not cease,
> Sitting upon the spraye
> Soe lowde he wakened Robin Hood,
> In the greenwood where he lay.'

In Yorkshire and elsewhere he is known as the Yaffle and the Pickatree, names to which I have not found any Beowulf. parallels in persons or places. In the Anglo-Saxon literature the name of one of the most famous heroes is borrowed from the Woodpecker; he is called Beowulf, or the Bee-Wolf. We have already explained how common was the belief among the early European peoples that the Woodpecker used to catch and eat the bees.

It seems to result from the foregoing enquiries that the Woodpecker was revered quite as much in Great Britain in early times as in Italy or in Greece. It was, no doubt, more abundant than at present, and attracted more attention. If Woodpecker-towns twin-towns? we may take Woodpecker-towns to be, for the most part, twin-towns, it would seem that twin-towns, of the sanctuary type, occurred also in Great Britain.

CHAPTER XXXVI

JASON AND THE SYMPLEGADES

It was pointed out in a previous chapter that the passage of the Symplegades or Clashing Rocks, at the entrance to the Euxine, by Jason and his companions, was not an incident that could be limited to the supposed first Greek voyage of discovery. The Clashing Rocks occurred elsewhere, which showed that they had really nothing to do with the Euxine, nor anything to do with Jason, imagined to be a definite historical character. The Clashing Rocks, as we have said, occur elsewhere: we found them, for example, in South America, which does not exactly lie on the Euxine. In a modified form, they appear as Clashing Doors, in which the passer through may be caught and perhaps destroyed, or split trees which come together again and imprison the unwary. The theme is clearly the same: there is an attempt on the part of some one or more persons to force a passage into somewhere or after somebody, and a little study of the various stories of heroes who, usually in pairs, make attempt to pass the Clashers, will show that it is the Sky-boys or Thunder-boys who are gone in search of the Sun, lost for a time to mortal view in the Western Sea, or which is the same thing, swallowed for a time by the Dragon and the Darkness. Into this underworld the heroes will penetrate in order to liberate the captive Sun. This theme is one that is well known to us. Sometimes it is varied, and the theme is the wooing of the Daughter of the Sun. The change could be explained, but it is not necessary at this point; what is necessary is to register the facts, and then in

The Symplegades found elsewhere than in the Euxine.

The Solar Heroes must pass them,

to rescue the Sun,

the light of the facts, to simplify the involved problems. For example, without going into North or South America, we know from the folk-songs of Lithuania, that our own ancestors believed in Sons of God (*dewa deli*) who rode upon a chariot in order to woo the daughter of the Sun.

or to woo his daughter.

The matter stands thus in Mannhardt's translation:

> 'Warum stehen die grauen Rosse
> An der Hausthür der Sonne?
> Es sind des Gottes Sohnes graue Rosse
> Der freit um die Tochter der Sonne[1],'

where the only modern trait that needs removal is the description of the Son of God in the singular, where it evidently stood originally as *dewa deli*, in the plural. The song goes on to identify the owners of the gray horses, or rather, the gray horses themselves, with the Morning and Evening Stars; so that we need have no hesitation in believing that we are dealing with one of the simplest features of a Solar Cult, the disappearance of the Sun or the Solar Splendour and its ultimate recovery and reappearance.

In the same way it is said that the Açvins delivered Surya the daughter of the Sun, and the Tyndarids delivered Helen; and, as we shall show, the Theban Twins, Zethos and Amphion, rescue their mother Antiope. Nor must we forget the story of the *Signs of the Zodiac*, which is told by Jerome of Prague, and how they liberated the Sun, who had been imprisoned in a dark tower, using for this purpose a huge hammer with which they broke into the tower and battered it down[2]. Here the signs of the Zodiac evidently stand for the Heavenly Twins. These and similar cases all arise out of the same theme, that the Sun (or the daughter of the Sun) has been carried off, or swallowed or imprisoned, and must be recovered. The Twins, who are the children of the Sky, undertake the search and the recovery. Naturally one will go East and the other West; naturally, too, they become identified with the Morning Star and the Evening Star. When this is made clear, we do not need to explain

[1] Mannhardt, *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, vol. VII. 1875, vide supra, p. 299.

[2] See *Cult of the Heavenly Twins*, p. 85.

the Symplegades as real rocks, nor interpret the passage of them rationalistically. It has been suggested, for example, that the danger of the rocks at the entrance of the Euxine led to the sending on in advance of a ship's boat, named the Dove, to test the openness of the passage: and it resulted that where the Dove, the ship's boat went, the Argo could follow. This is mere dreary rationalism, trying to get rid of a miracle. The rocks are not real rocks: the passage is not into the Euxine but into another world. The Twins run the risk of being swallowed like their sire. The real Symplegades are the Clashing Doors of the mouth of the great Dragon of the Dark. Our heroes run a risk indeed in venturing into the interior of that dragon and making him disgorge. This is expressed by the Argo losing the end of its rudder, the dove which has been sent in advance its tail feathers; and Jason, perhaps, his sandal. We may treat these incidents as poetical embellishments but we must not explain them away rationalistically in the hope of retaining a real voyage by ordinary people in the story. The value of the incident of the Symplegades is that it enables us to see that we are following the working of the human imagination engaged in the explanation of a simple natural phenomenon, the recurrence of Day and Night. As this is an important result, we must not say with Medea's nurse in Euripides, that we wish Jason had never passed the Symplegades:

Symplegades not real rocks.

εἴθ' ὤφελ' Ἀργοῦς μὴ διαπτάσθαι σκάφος
Κόλχων ἐς αἶαν κυανέας Συμπληγάδας.

(Where the passage of the Argo, following the trial passage by the dove, is aptly compared to the flight of that bird.) On the contrary, we are very glad that the Symplegades are imagined to be there (though a mere incident in the story) and that they help us to correlate the legend of the Argonauts with the Solar folk-lore of America. It is curious that, although as we have said, the Symplegades do not seem, on first study, to be a necessary nor a cardinal part of the legend, they are in some form or another of universal diffusion wherever solar myths can be traced.

Before leaving this point, which Ehrenreich has excellently emphasized and summarized[1], it is only fair to state that he has also given an accurate description of many of the leading features of the Twin-cult, though apparently without any suspicion of the primal Fear from which Twin-cult proceeds. For example, he explains that the Twin Brethren quarrel amongst themselves:

Ehrenreich on twin-quarrels,

'*Bruderzwist.* Ein ziemlich weitverbreiteter Zug der Zwillingsmythen ist der Streit, der zwischen beider Brüdern ausbricht, nachdem sie ihre Mission erfüllt und die Welt unter sich geteilt haben. Es endet damit, dass einer den anderen erschlägt, oder beide sich trennen, wobei der eine nach Osten, der andere nach Westen zieht, um im Reiche der untergehenden Sonne, also der Unterwelt, zu herrschen. Ausser zur Sonne treten dann gewöhnlich auch Beziehungen zu Morgen- und Abendstern hervor, die weiterhin mythisch ausgesponnen worden.'

According to Ehrenreich, then, the twin brothers, *when they have accomplished their mission* of finding and restoring their lost father, fall a-quarrelling among themselves, so that one kills the other, or they mutually separate.

The foregoing statement is suggestively near to the account of the Twin-myth which we have been working out. It might, perhaps, be questioned whether the hostility between the Twins is not, on this view, developed too late in their history: we found it to be even ante-natal in some cases, both Biblical and Hellenic! Ehrenreich also detected the tendency to describe the Twin Brethren as opposed, not only in temper, but in actual form. We have explained the existence of the Rough and Smooth Brethren, and have given the Biblical and the Greek parallels. On this point Ehrenreich gives some further parallels from South America, and sums the matter up as follows:

and twin-diversities.

'In der urwüchsigen Mythe wird der Gegensatz zwischen beiden durch die Verschiedenheit der Charaktereigenschaften erklärt. Der eine erscheint stürmischer, kühner, gewalt-

[1] *Die Mythen und Legenden der Südamerikanischen Urvölker*, pp. 50, 51.

tätiger aber auch intelligenter, der andere ist milderen Sinnes aber auch weniger tatkräftig und schlau.'

We have the Twins differentiated in character as well as in appearance. Esau, Zethos and Artemis are more violent and more capable than Jacob, Amphion and Apollo.

As we have said, these observations coincide very closely with our own. I am glad to find myself so well supported.

CHAPTER XXXVII

JASON AND TRIPTOLEMOS

The Twins as ploughmen,

WHEN we were discussing the functions of the Twins, from the point of view of their beneficences to the human race, we were able to show that they had been credited, *inter alia*, with the invention of the plough and the yoke: and this discovery is one of the fundamental traits of twin-legend in its European development: even when the twins have become heroized, the ancient symbols are still attached to their cult, often in the form of weapons which they use, or instruments which they are imagined still to manufacture.

Triptolemos for instance,

In the case of Triptolemos it was quite easy to detect the plough in his cult. He is the Attic father of the plough, and it is in his honour that three ploughs are carried in the festival of the Thesmophoria; tradition made him the darling of Demeter, to whom he had been entrusted by his father King Keleos. Keleos, being the Green Woodpecker, was naturally the parent of the Heavenly Twins, and Demeter, the Corn-Mother, was with equal propriety made the guardian of the Heavenly Ploughman, attached to her service either as an adopted child, or received into her companionship as a friend and perhaps a lover.

and Jason?

In dealing with the relationship of Jason and Triptolemos, it was suggested that in the case of Jason the emphasis had been laid on the Twin as ship-builder and navigator, while in the case of Triptolemos, the stress was on the Twin as agriculturist. It looked like a case of divided functions. No doubt this is a convenient way of studying the question, and is a not unfair summary of the legends. We must,

however, admit that the division of function is not as complete as it appears. In the first place, Triptolemos is not bounded altogether by the limits of his ploughed field. At Antioch he was honoured with a festival on Mount Cassius, and Philo of Byblus tells us that the shrine on Mount Cassius was commemorative of a shipwreck near by of certain descendants of the Dioscuri: from which it was easy to see that there was a Dioscureion on Mount Cassius, and that shipmen prayed there or thitherward, using the name of Triptolemos where we should have expected Jason.

Jason as ploughman in Colchis.

In the next place, Jason is not so exclusively nautical that he can rid himself of connection with agriculture. It may, perhaps, at first sight, seem to be an undue stretch of the imagination to take the hero of Colchis back into the humbler arts of life, with which war has apparently nothing to do. We cannot, however, ignore the prominence which is given in the story of the Golden Fleece, to the labours assigned to Jason by the father of Medea. He must yoke fire-breathing bulls and plough with them; then he must sow dragons' teeth, and overcome the brood of armed men that will arise. The last feature of the conflict is one which recurs again in the story of Kadmos, so closely connected in many ways with that of Jason. Does it not seem as if the starting point for the growth of the legend as to the dragons' teeth was to be found in the simple statement that the Heavenly Ploughman or Twin taught us how to yoke cattle and attach them to the plough? Let this story lose its simplicity and become heroized; we have then the material for some at least of the exploits of Jason. If this explanation be correct (I owe it in part to Miss Harrison), then Jason is still a Ploughman, even when he has become High Admiral of the first Greek fleet; in other words, the division of function between Jason and Triptolemos was not as complete as, at first sight, it might appear to be.

The relations between the legend of Kadmos and that of Jason are still obscure. I do not, at present, see how to elucidate them. Probably it is better to work away on the line where we discovered Jason, the evolutionary line of a

twin-cult, and leave Kadmos for further study in the light of rapidly increasing mythological knowledge.

Dissection of Argonaut legends.

On the whole it appears that the perplexing mass of the Argonautic legends is beginning to break up into strata: we have shown that there is a stratum of twin-cult revealed by the invention and use of the plough and yoke, another stratum which betrays the origin and development of ship-craft, a third in which the Twins appear as heroes, after the manner of the twin-cults in North and South America, where the prominent idea is that of sending the Sky-children or Thunder-boys in search of their lost father the Sun. This last stratum of belief ought to end in the evolution of a cult of the Morning Star and the Evening Star; amongst its leading themes is that of a devouring dragon on the one hand, and an imprisoned solar splendour on the other.

Jason not primarily Healer.

It may be noticed in passing that the common explanation of Jason as the Great Healer, does not seem to be warranted by the Argonautic story: nor does there seem to be any special development of mantic art which is so commonly allied with medicine in early times. In the case of the Argonaut expedition the mantic element is supplied from other quarters; Mopsus, for example, in the ship; Phineus on the land. The medical and magic part, including the peculiarly Dioscuric art of rejuvenescence, appears to have been transferred to Medea. This does not mean that Jason was inexpert in such arts; there are occasional suggestions, I believe, to the contrary; but these are not the features by which Jason impressed himself on the men who fashioned the great Argonautic tradition. For them he was not, first and foremost, the healer or the prophet: he was the daring sailor, the solar hero, and in a lesser degree the Heavenly Ploughman. He cannot be understood, however, either in his greater or lesser functions, without the aid of the twin-cult.

Twins assist Jason.

In confirmation of the foregoing belief that original functions have been heroized in the Jason story, let us look more closely at the ploughing of Jason as it appears in the verses of Apollonius Rhodius. Miss Harrison points out to

me that Jason is assisted in the yoking of the bulls by the Tyndarids, so that we have a case of the Twin being assisted by the Twins. The meaning is that the task of yoking the team requires two, and since Jason's twin is not on hand, it has been arranged in advance that Castor and Polydeuces shall come to his assistance, as soon as by one mighty effort he has forced the fire-breathing bulls to their knees. The language of Apollonius is significant.

οἳ δ' ἄρα τείως
Τυνδαρίδαι—δὴ γάρ σφι πάλαι προπεφραδμένον ἦεν—
ἀγχίμολον ζυγά οἱ πεδόθεν δόσαν ἀμφιβαλέσθαι.
APOLL. RHOD. III. 1313—1315.

The parenthetic sentence shows the intention: since Jason is alone, another pair of twin yokers will come to his assistance. Thus the Spartan Dioscuri are also connected with the plough and the yoke, and it is a fair question whether this may not after all be the meaning of their cult symbols, the Dokana or sacred cross-beams.

Twins tame bulls.

In the course of the analysis we have brought out another point, which might have been suggested to us by the nature of the case: the Twins who are responsible for the plough and the yoke must also be answerable for the taming of the beasts who are to bear the yoke and drag the plough. The bull is tamed for this very purpose. Now we were well aware that Castor is the primitive horse-breaker, under which title he occurs constantly in Homeric and other verse: we now see that the Twins are bull-tamers as well as horse-tamers, otherwise they would invent the yoke and plough in vain. We add this to their other functions, and assume that the appearance of the Tyndarids at this point in the Argonaut story is a part of the functional heroization of the legend.

Story of Theban Twins.

In this connection we may now draw attention to a parallel case in which the Twins handle the wild bull, without any special reference to an ultimate ploughing. This part of the heroization is preserved for us in the story of the Theban Twins, Zethos and Amphion. Zethos and

Amphion were the twin children of Antiope, their natural parent being Epopeus and their supernatural sire Zeus himself. It is one of the typical cases of twin-birth, from two male parents, human and divine. In the legend we are told that Antiope's father died of chagrin at what had happened, leaving it as a legacy to his brother to punish Antiope. Meanwhile the children had been exposed on Mount Cithaeron, just as they would be in West Africa to-day, and they were brought up by a friendly shepherd, who finds out the secret of their birth. They grow up in time to intervene between their mother and a certain Bacchant named Dirce who is on the point of killing her. They rescue Antiope, and apparently treat Dirce to the very same death which she was planning for their mother, by attaching her to the horns of a wild bull. There is some variation in the legendary details, but this will suffice to introduce the matter.

Every one who is familiar with Greek art knows the magnificent group at Naples which passes under the name of the Farnese Bull, the work of the Trallian sculptors Apollonius and Tauriskos. It represents the Theban Twins controlling the motions of the wild bull, to whom tradition says their mother, Antiope, had been bound by the order of the jealous Dirce; the Twins, however, being advised that Antiope is their mother, prepare for Dirce, as we have said, the death designed for the other.

The key to the sculpture, and to the underlying legends, lies in the recognition of two functions, belonging to Twin-life, which are here heroized.

The first of these is that Twins are the inventors of the plough and yoke, which includes the subordinate statement that

They tame the wild bull,

(*a*) Twins tame the wild bull:

the second is the duty that belongs to the Twins as Children of the Sky, to recover the lost luminary, and one form of this duty is stated as follows:

(*b*) Twins liberate the Daughter of the Sun.

they rescue Antiope.

When we superpose one of these functions on the other, and try to interpret them in the heroic language, we easily

understand that the Farnese group is concerned in the first instance with the liberation of Antiope and not with the punishment of Dirce. The bull-taming twins have rescued their mother. The only obscurity remaining is the intrusion of Dirce into the legend. This I am not able at present satisfactorily to explain: it appears to constitute a third stratum of cult, but I do not see its meaning.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

THE WOODPECKER AND THE PLOUGH

Jason a Heavenly Ploughman.

In the story of Jason and Triptolemos, we were able to detect a pair of Twin Brethren, who were also the Patrons of the Art of Ploughing. At first sight it seemed as if Jason had left his plough on the shore, when he went to sea: but when he arrives at Colchis, we find the craft resumed in a heroic fashion, which leaves Triptolemos far behind. So Jason also was a Heavenly Ploughman, and the division of labour between him and his brother is superficial. They are really one in an art which requires two persons, if we may judge from the way the Tyndarids come to the help of Jason in the Argonaut legend, and put the yokes on the necks of the bulls whom Jason had brought to the ground. The heroization of the story of the taming of oxen for the plough (*no small feat in the history of man*) may now be regarded as intelligible.

The Woodpecker as Plough-animal.

So much being clear, we come to a more curious folk-belief, which must be connected with that of the Heavenly Ploughman; the Woodpecker also is credited with the art of ploughing, and a variety of tales is told to explain how the art passed out of his hands, and became an affair of men and cattle. It will be perhaps said at once, that this is really only a variant of the previous stories of the invention of the plough by the Heavenly Twins, due to the tradition that the Heavenly Twins are the children of the Thunder, that is, of the Woodpecker. When we examine the traditions more carefully we shall find that such a statement does not disclose all that may be learned from the supposed variant tradition. Let us then see what people say of the Woodpecker as a Heavenly Ploughman.

The first story we shall quote relates how the Woodpecker became a ploughman, and how, in consequence of his ill-success in the craft, he got his red head. It comes from the Lettish population in Polish Livland, and will be found in Dannhardt's *Natursagen* (I. 193), to the following effect:

Lettish tale of God, the Devil and the Woodpecker.

Once upon a time God and the Devil were good fellows in the world together, and each of them had a field to plough. The Devil was ploughing with horses, but God with a woodpecker. By day's end the Devil had ploughed much ground and God very little; so at night God took the Devil's horses and got his field ploughed. When the Devil saw the result next morning, he said, 'Goodman God, let us change over: you take the horses and give me your woodpecker.' For he thought it would be less trouble to feed a woodpecker than a pair of horses. The exchange being made, the Devil harnessed his woodpecker, who couldn't stir the plough. Enraged the Devil struck at him and broke his head. So the Woodpecker's head is red, even to this day.

Woodpecker as herdsman.

Another form of the story[1], again from Lettish sources, tells that the Woodpecker was the Devil's herdsman and had charge of his cattle; God came one day to see the Devil, who was, in those days, much richer than himself; he found out that the Devil's servants had white bread, and milk soup; so he suspected that the Devil had a herd of cattle somewhere, and made a stratagem to drive them into his own cattle-sheds by means of a swarm of tormenting insects. The Devil goes afield, and finds his chief herdsman, the Woodpecker, asleep on a tree and the cattle almost all of them disappeared. He beats him bloody over the head, and to this day, for pain, the Woodpecker has never had time to get the blood off his head. He cries for his hurt and to call back his lost cattle.

He loses his cattle.

These tales are very instructive, coming, as they do, from a primitive people, who have preserved Aryan and prae-Aryan legends in very early forms.

The Woodpecker is credited with the performance of two

[1] Dannhardt, *Natursagen*, I. 189, 599.

duties, which he is set to discharge: the care of cattle and the handling of the plough. He is ploughman in one story, herdsman in the next. As to his ploughing, we are expressly told that it breaks down; it was so slow as to become impossible; it was displaced by something more effective. We have to try and explain these curious traditions.

Evolution of art of ploughing,

The way to understand them is to ask how the human race came to plough. It is not sufficient to say that the Twin Brethren are the children of the Thunder, that is, of the Woodpecker; for this still leaves the question before us, as to the link between the Thunder and the Plough. Does it simply mean that the Twins are the symbol of fertility and hence the patrons of the plough? That has been our explanation up to the present, but let us look into the matter a little more closely. How did the human race come to plough? Did they arrive at the invention *per saltum*? The answer must surely be in the negative. The observation of savage tribes will tell us that the hoe precedes the plough, and the scratching of the ground is earlier than its tearing. Well, the scratching of the ground is Woodpecker craft: it means that what the bird is seen to do in a tree, man learns to do in the field. To this day we call the instrument that

from pick to plough,

he uses a *pick*, that is to say, Woodpecker (Picus). So we see the reason why the Lettish stories carried the origin of the art of ploughing behind the Twins to the Woodpecker, and made a ploughman of the bird.

We see more than this: we have found the real reason why the Twins, as children of the Woodpecker, came to be credited with the art of taming cattle and using them for ploughing. The Woodpecker, who showed men how to hoe, became in the story the Devil's ploughman and likewise his herdsman: the Twins took over the art of ploughing from

from Woodpecker to the Twins.

him and the poor old Woodpecker was agriculturally displaced by his offspring. Thus we find the link in the evolution of ideas by which the Twins became the Inventors of the Plough: the missing link is the hoe, or the digging-stick, that is the Woodpecker. We have, in fact, a graphic account of the break-down of the old system of agriculture, and the

arrival of the new. The old system is what the Germans, I believe, call *Hackenbau*, where Hack, again, like Pick, is one of the names of the Woodpecker. In the Lettish stories, the Devil stands for the Old Thunder displaced by the New, just as Keleos stands in the story of his expulsion from the birth-cave of Zeus, as we explained in a previous chapter. In one sense, the Devil, an old Thunder-god in most cases, is the Woodpecker itself; but in the tale he becomes the owner of the unsuccessful Woodpecker, upon whom, in a fit of rage, he takes his revenge.

CHAPTER XXXIX

THE KORYBANTES AND THE INFANT ZEUS

We may now advance a step further in our knowledge of the Zeus-cult and its evolution from the primitive cult of the Thunder in the Hollow Oak. We have shown why King Keleos was not allowed to enter the sanctuary-cave in Crete, and why the infant-thunder was not permitted to blast with his bolts the intruding Woodpecker. The important part which the bees play in the myth of the Holy Oak has also been recognised: we see nature looking out at us through the forms of art, and when the mythologist begins his tale of the way the bees fed the infant Zeus in the sacred cave, we are able to write the simpler story that once upon a time, very long ago, our ancestors believed that the Woodpecker (who was the Thunder-bird) used to eat honey of the bees that made their nests, and stored their vegetable and floral spoils in his hollowed tree. We have shown the reasons for this mistake; the Woodpecker actually ate the larvae of the bees, but that does not mean that he ate the bees or their honey.

Enemies of bees.

In Roman times, we find from Vergil's *Georgics* that various birds and beasts were recognised as hostile to bees, such as the Merops (or bee-eater), and the swallow; whether the Woodpecker is involved in the general term, 'other birds' which hurt the bees, is not quite clear. Then there was the lizard who had to be kept out of the hive: the passage in which Vergil groups the influences is as follows:

> 'Absunt et picti squalentia terga lacerti
> Pinguibus a stabulis, meropesque aliaeque volucres,
> Et manibus Procne pectus signata cruentis:
> Omnia nam late vastant ipsasque volantis
> Ore ferunt dulcem nidis in mitibus escam.'
>
> *Georgics* IV. 12—16.

The description does not necessarily include the Woodpecker; it refers principally to birds who catch the bees flying. It is quite possible that, by Vergil's day, the belief that the Woodpeckers stole the honey had altogether disappeared in Italy; he does not even suggest that Picus does any special harm. It is Procne, not Picus, that is at fault. In Vergil's time we may also assume that wild honey had disappeared; the bees were so carefully husbanded and hived, that the cultivated broods had displaced the wild ones. Hence, when Vergil writes of wild swarms of bees, he does so on the ground of tradition only, and not of observation: if rumour tells true, says he, bees have hived both in hollow rocks and hollow trees; but apparently they did not in North Italy find wild honey, any more than we do in England to-day. The language of Vergil is as follows:

No wild honey in Vergil.

> 'Saepe etiam effossis, si uera est fama, latebris,
> Sub terra fouere larem, penitusque repertae
> Pumicibusque cauis exesaeque arboris antro.'
>
> *Georgics* IV. 42—44.

> 'And often, if the tale be true, contrive
> Snug homesteads in some burrow underground,
> Or find a harbour in the caverned rocks,
> Or in the hollow of time-eaten trees.'
>
> (Burghclere's translation.)

It will be observed that Vergil calls the hollow of the tree by the name of *antrum*, or cave.

And now I want to pass on from these considerations to the interpretation of the rites of the Kuretes and the Korybantes, who are also traditionally connected with the infant Zeus.

Every student of mythology knows the way in which Zeus is rescued from being devoured by his father Kronos: his mother Rhea deceived Kronos by giving him a stone to swallow, and then the Kuretes drown the cries of the newly-born child by making a hideous clatter on their shields, until an arrangement can be made for the removal of the child to a place of safety.

The Kuretes.

The Korybantes.

In the case of the Korybantes we have the Phrygian rite that corresponds to the Kuretes of Crete: here the mother is named Cybele, and the child is protected by the noises made by a varying number of Korybantes who clash their cymbals; they dance around the babe, who is generally seated on the ground, and quite uninterested in the measures that are being taken for his protection and deliverance.

Meaning of their dances.

It is common to regard these dances as ritual dances, accompanied by songs of a religious character, and not a few attempts have been made to expound the dances and the ritual songs and music. The latest attempt is that of Miss Jane Harrison, in her book called *Themis*, in which it is suggested that the ceremony of the Kuretes is the initiation of the boys (*κοῦροι*) of a clan into tribal fellowship, for which parallels are to be sought in African and Australian initiations of the present day. 'The Kouretes are young men who have been initiated themselves and will initiate others, will instruct them in tribal duties and tribal dances, steal them away from their mothers, conceal them, make away with them by some pretended death, and finally bring them back as new-born, grown youths, full members of their tribe[1].'

Without entering into a detailed discussion of Miss Harrison's interesting hypothesis, it has occurred to me that in one direction a simpler explanation might be found, an explanation as close to the life of primitive man as that which is so ably represented in *Themis*. My suggestion is

They call the bees,

that the noise made by the Kuretes with their shields and the Korybantes with their cymbals, which gave rise to the myth that it was intended to distract the attention of Kronos from his infant son, is in reality a rude music meant to call the swarming bees to a new hive. We connect, that is, the rattling of the shields of the Kuretes, and the clashing of the cymbals of the Korybantes, with the noise of tin pans and kettles which may be heard in the neighbourhood of any cottage in the country when the bees are swarming.

Let us see what Vergil says on the matter. The fourth

[1] *Themis*, pp. 19, 20.

book of the *Georgics* will tell us all that he knew about bee-culture and its mythology. When the bees swarm, we are told

'huc tu iussos asperge sapores,
Trita melisphylla et cerinthae ignobile gramen,
Tinnitusque cie et Matris quate cymbala circum;
Ipsae consident medicatis sedibus, etc.'

with music of cymbals.

Georgics IV. 62—65.

'Strew there the subtle odours I ordain,
Such as bruised balm-leaves, humble honey-wort,
Clashing the cymbals of great Cybele,
That they shall settle of their own free will
On the charmed spot.'

(Burghclere's translation.)

Here we learn two things, (1) that cymbals were used to draw the bees; (2) that Vergil makes the parallel with the cymbals of the Korybantes, in a way that is very suggestive of a real connection between the two musics.

This is not all that Vergil says on the subject; having made the parallel with the music of the Korybantes, he makes later on another connection, even more direct, with the Kuretes.

'Nunc age, naturas apibus quas Juppiter ipse
Addidit expediam, pro qua mercede canoros
Curetum sonitus crepitantiaque aera secutae
Dictaeo caeli regem pauere sub antro.'

Georgics IV. 149—152.

'So prithee, to our bees and you shall learn
The wondrous instinct that controls their race,
By Jove omnipotent of old vouchsafed.
This was in truth the guerdon that they sought,
When, *marshalled by the clamorous melodies*
And clashing cymbals of the Corybants,
They found and fed the infant King of heaven
Among the Cretan hills.'

(Burghclere's translation.)

Here Vergil expressly says (unless we have altogether misunderstood him) that the bees who made honey in the Dictaean cave, had been attracted thither by the music of the Kuretes, and that they were suitably rewarded for coming to the call. If this be correct, Vergil has made the

bee-keeper's cymbals the direct descendant of primeval music made by primitive man to allure the bees to some fresh home in rock or tree or elementary hive. The translator has substituted Korybants for Kuretes, but his freedom is allowable, for it is Vergil's own, who, as our previous quotation shows, makes no difference between them. Either group may be described as primitive bee-keepers.

Now this is not an unconfirmed or unwarranted exercise of the imagination: for amongst the ancient traditions as to the origin of bee-keeping and the invention of honey, we find several which take us back directly to the Kuretes: thus Diodorus says that 'it is related that the Kuretes taught the art of bee-keeping,'

Κούρητας...τὰ περὶ τὰς μελιττουργίας καταδεῖξαι
DIODORUS, v. 65,

and from Pompeius Trogus (Justin, XIV. 4) we find that the most ancient king of the Kuretes, named Gargoris, discovered the art of collecting honey.

It was, therefore, quite natural that the Kuretes should in ritual be represented as calling the bees. In view of these corroborative traditions, it must be clear that Vergil's reference to the bee-keeper's cymbals as comparable with those of the Kuretes was not a mere poetic parallel: it arose out of the fact that the Kuretes were the patrons of bee-keeping; the modern cymbals and the ancient were the same. The whole matter is much simplified from our point of view:

Twins are attached to the Hollow Oak,
for
Twins are children of the Thunder
and the Thunder is the Woodpecker.
The Kuretes are (originally) Twins (and Woodpeckers);
Bees are attached to the Hollow Oak;
Woodpeckers like honey and bees:
The Kuretes are, therefore, patrons of bee-keeping:
Therefore they clash the sacred cymbals.

The calling of bees as a ritual,

It remains for us to enquire in what way the act of calling the bees in the early spring acquired a ritual significance and developed ultimately a mythology. The

investigation is, at present, somewhat obscure. The mythology has a curious inconsistency on its face; it makes the Kuretes the guardians of the infant Zeus; yet it seems that the Kuretes cannot be dissociated from the Thunder, and if so, they are the Sons of the Thunder, and the Thunder is—Zeus himself: at least Zeus is the New Thunder. It appears therefore that there is something more in the curious mythology and perplexing ritual than the calling of the bees. One thing is clear, that we cannot overestimate the importance of the bee in civilization's advance; honey was the sugar of the ancients and the keeping of bees soon became an art comparable with agriculture itself. Hence there is nothing out of proportion in Vergil's giving a whole book of his *Georgics* to the subject of bee-keeping; it would hardly occupy a page in the handbook of the modern farmer. Miss Harrison has commented and laid great stress on the hymn of the Kuretes discovered at Palaiokastro in Crete; it is interesting to note that in this hymn, undoubtedly of ritual significance, the worshippers acting as a band of Kuretes, address Zeus as the greatest Kouros, and pray for annual prosperity in wine and wool and fruitful field and *in honey*.

and a mythology.

Ritual hymn of the Kuretes.

Ἄ[μιν θόρε, κὲς στά]μνια,
καὶ θόρ' εὔποκ' ἐ[ς ποίμνια,
κὲς λήϊα κάρπων θόρε,
κὲς τελεσ[φόρους σίμβλους].

'To us also leap for full jars, and leap for fleecy flocks, and leap for fields of fruit, and for hives to bring increase.'

Assuming this restoration of the inscription to be correct, the place of the bees in the invocation would seem to require a corresponding ritual act, which may easily be the clashing of the cymbals. At this point, then, we leave the matter for further enquiry and criticism. If we are wrong that at the base of all the myth and all the legend lies the still existing custom of calling bees in spring to the noise of tin pans, it will be easy for Miss Harrison or Mr A. B. Cook to point out our mistake.

CHAPTER XL

BEES AND THE HOLY OAK

Sanctity of the Hollow Oak.

It has been sufficiently shown in a previous chapter that the sacred bees, whom we find in the birth-cave of Zeus in Crete, belong really to the Holy Oak, which is, when we examine it more closely, a hollow oak: and it must be increasingly clear in the process of our argument, that the hollow oak occupies a front place in the history of culture and of religion. It was the home of the thunder-stone, of the woodpecker, and of the sacred bees: it was the original sanctuary, the first ship, and perhaps the most ancient place of sepulture. Its branches were oracular, its mistletoe berries had magic powers. We now resume the discussion of the Oak as the first beehive. It might, perhaps, be supposed that after researches into the place of bees in ancient history, such as those of Mr A. B. Cook and of Robert-Tornow, there would not be much to say upon this subject that was not mere repetition. This is not exactly the case; we are approaching the matter from new points of view; we have before us connecting links with Twin-cult and Thunder-cult, which may be of importance in the interpretation of some of the matters to which eminent scholars that preceded us have drawn attention. Especially we shall employ our previous results to illustrate the passages on bee-lore in Robert-Tornow's book entitled *De Apium Mellisque Significatione.* In this interesting and valuable dissertation, we shall see that the connection between bees and the oak can be made out, though the writer seems to have little idea of the evolution of bee-keeping, and an interpretation can also be attached to a point which he noticed, but did not

succeed in explaining, that the ancients regarded it as a mark of the Golden Age that the earth flowed with milk and *the trees dripped honey.*

Bees and the Oak.

First of all, we remark that the ancients recognised a congruity between bees and the oak. Theophrastus[1], for example, observes that 'honey is found especially on the leaves of the oak, and that there is some connection (*οἰκείωσις*) between bees and oaks.' No doubt this is the case, though Theophrastus does not realise in what the congruity consists, nor does he know that the oak was at one time much more richly endowed with honey than the moisture which he had noticed on the leaves, which is not really honey at all.

Aristaeus the first bee-keeper.

The ancient writers commonly refer the discovery of honey and the invention of the beehive to a mythical hero named Aristaeus, who is sometimes spoken of as Zeus himself, Zeus Aristaeus. May we paraphrase his name as Goodman Thunder, as the Lettish peasants talk of Goodman-God?

The tradition says that Aristaeus took his bees from the oak-tree: thus Oppian (*Cyneget.* IV. 269 sqq.) says of Aristaeus,

> *πρῶτος ἐκεῖνος...ποτὶ σίμβλους*
> *ἐκ δρυὸς ἀείρας ἀγανὰς ἐνέκλεισε μελίσσας.*

Aristaeus was the first to shut up the gentle bees in hives, having removed them from the oak-tree. Strabo says that beehives are actually made in the trees (*ἐν τοῖς δένδρεσι σμηνουργεῖσθαι*), which is very like what we noticed in the Ural mountains, and is only one degree removed from the time when the beehives were the trees themselves[2].

The oak-tree was, then, the original beehive, as we see also from what Hesiod said of the wealth of its midmost bark for the reward of good people. It need not be emphasized further that oak, in this connection, means hollow oak.

[1] Robert-Tornow, l.c. pp. 77, 78.

[2] Prol. § 14, lib. XI. c. 1, quoted in Robert-Tornow, p. 78.

We shall see this abundantly as we come to another point, the wealth of honey in the Golden Age.

The Golden Age

One of the favourite themes of Roman poets is the Golden Age, whose passing away they mourn, and for whose return they pine, when the restitution of all things shall bring back the kingdom of old Saturn. Of these good old times, for instance, Vergil and Horace, Ovid and Tibullus, all write; and, more remarkable still, they all say substantially the same things. One of the themes is that there was no need then of the plough, and the ploughman's toil; the earth brought forth abundantly, automatically: nor was there any need of agriculture, of education in the keeping of bees, of legal enactments against placing your hive too near to your neighbour's, to his detriment; the honey dripped from the trees in the good old times: thus Vergil (*Ecl.* x. 30) tells how, when the good days return, and time's wheel has made its full circle, 'the sturdy oaks shall drip with honey-dew,'

an age of Honey.

'durae quercus sudabunt roscida mella';

Horace sings of the land flowing with wine, milk and honey, and says that the honey 'drops from the hollow tree-trunks,'

'Fas pervicaces est mihi Thyiadas
Vinique fontem, lactis et uberes
Cantare rivos atque *truncis*
Lapsa cavis iterare mella.'

Od. II. 19. 9—12.

In another passage he longs for the happy isles, 'where from the hollow oak the honies drop,'

'arva beata
Petamus arva, divites et insulas,
Reddit ubi Cererem tellus inarata quotannis
Et imputata floret usque vinea,
Germinat et numquam fallentis termes olivae
Suamque pulla ficus ornat arborem;
Mella cava manant ex ilice.'

Epod. 16. 41—47.

Ovid, too, tells of Saturn's days, before the share had

touched the soil, and when honey could be found in the hollow oak,

> 'At cum regna senex caeli Saturnus haberet,
> Omne lucrum tenebris alta premebat humus:
> .....
> At meliora dabat; curvo sine vomere fruges,
> Pomaque et *in quercu mella reperta cava*:
> Nec valido quisquam terram scindebat aratro....'
>
> *Amor.* III. 8. 35—40.

And again he describes the days of Saturn, before Jove took the kingdom, when milk and nectar flowed in streams, and the yellow honey dropped from the ilex:

> 'Flumina iam lactis, iam flumina nectaris ibant,
> Flavaque de viridi stillabant ilice mella.
> Postquam Saturno tenebrosa in tartara misso
> Sub Jove mundus erat.' *Met.* I. iii.

In the Silver Age, honey was not to be found that way, plentifully and without price. Tibullus tells

> 'How bonnily they lived in Saturn's day,
> The very oaks had honey.'
>
> 'Quam bene Saturno vivebant rege
> .....
> Ipsae mella dabant quercus.' *El.* I. 3. 35, 43.

When we ask why such prominence is given to honey in the Golden Age, the way to the answer is to realise oneself in days before Zeus was king. In those days, Woodpecker was king as well as Saturn; his throne was the hollow oak, as against the later Olympus, and the oak-tree was the only beehive, just as the trees are to-day in the Australian bush, where the natives find what they call 'sugar-bag.' What we have stumbled on in the later poets is *just a case of folk-memory set to music.* These honey-bearing oaks had ceased to be: the old-world beehive had been replaced by an artificial structure, as it will be in Australia, where they will one day sing (if enough of the black fellows survive to sing),

Folk-memory in the poets.

> Oh! for the days we climbed for sugar-bag,
> And found it high in every hollow tree,
> Before the white man came and marred our joy.

Thus will sing the Australian poet of the twenty-first century, and the song may be headed

Redeant Saturnia regna.

CHAPTER XLI

THE TWINS IN WESTERN EUROPE

Twins in Western Europe:

A PREVIOUS chapter brought to our notice some survivals of the Twin Cult among the Celts of Brittany and in France generally: it will be interesting to recover further traces of that cult of the Dioscuri, which, according to Strabo, was one of the prevalent characteristics of the Western Celts.

We obtain some information from the existing folk-lore, in which we see evidence of the sanctity of the hollow oak, and of its associations with the Thunder and the Twins.

Much more knowledge can be derived from a careful study of the Acts of the French Saints in the Calendar of the Church, many of whom are the thinnest disguise for an original sacred dyad or triad, betraying by their names, by their miracles, and in other ways that they are the Great Brethren, who protect some city, or have been, from time immemorial, honoured in some tree or sanctuary.

in Nôtre Dame,

Archaeological research comes also to our aid, as in the case of the recovered altar, found in Nôtre Dame, containing a dedication by the boatmen of the Seine to certain Celtic deities, *including the Heavenly Twins*. Note that the sanctuary is, again, on an island in the river.

at Court-St-Etienne.

If, again, we travel a little further north, we find traces of prehistoric life, which belong to our investigation, in the excavations at Court-St-Étienne, in Belgium, conducted by Count Goblet D'Alviella[1]. In these excavations a number of funeral urns were found, of a small size, too small for the incineration of an adult, and these small urns were

[1] *Antiques Protohistoriques de Court-St-Étienne*, p. 24. Extrait des Bulletins de l'Académie Royale de Belgique, Jan. 1908.

inserted in a larger one. It was suggested by the explorer that we had here the conservation of the remains of a child, dying with its mother. Now came the surprise of the situation. The small urns were sometimes in pairs, enclosed in the larger urn. Count D'Alviella conjectured that this was a case of twin-burial, and that the mother and her twins had been put to death. His description of these double jars of supposed infant-burial is as follows: 'Ici, en effet, ne s'agirait-il pas de jumeaux? Chez la plupart des non-civilisés, la naissance de jumeaux a toujours passé pour un fait surnaturel ou au moins suspect, un maléfice qui entraîne l'immolation des enfants et fréquemment de la mère, alors que, parmi les populations plus avancées, on se contente de les tabouer, c'est à dire qu'on les expulse ou qu'on les met en quarantaine, afin d'éviter que toute la peuplade n'en soit contaminée. Mais chez les non-civilisés, on confond aisement dans le surnaturel, les notions d'impureté et de sainteté, de néfaste et de propice. Par cela même que les jumeaux sont censés une procréation de la puissance surhumaine, on tend à se concilier leur influence et on leur rend des honneurs divins après leur mort. Il n'y aurait donc rien de surprenant à ce que nos prédecesseurs eussent à la fois immolé et vénéré certains de leurs nouveau-nés jumeaux en compagnie de leur mère.'

The date of these funeral deposits goes back to the beginning of the Iron Age: we may say that in Belgium the custom of twin-murder prevailed, at least, down to 500 B.C., and it is probable that a similar statement would hold for Western Europe generally. On this matter archaeological verification should be forthcoming, now that we know what to look for.

The burials at Court-St-Étienne should be compared with the child burials discovered by Mr McAlister in the ancient Canaanite stronghold at Gezer.

Outlying and isolated populations will often conserve for us beliefs with regard to twins which will betray the original prehistoric view, even though no cruel treatment is at the present day meted out either to the twins or their mother.

Twins in the Carpathians.

For an example from Eastern Europe we might take the Huzuls, a Ruthenian people, living on the N.E. slope of the Carpathian mountains. They dread the birth of twins, on the ground that *it portends the early death of one of the parents*, or the decline in the prosperity of the family. Some of them say that the birth of twins or of triplets is a direct punishment from God[1]. We find traces of the same fear of reaction of the twins on the life of the parents among S. African tribes. We noted it also in the island of Nias[2].

There is a good deal of further research to be made in European countries both with regard to the twin-fear, and its associated cult of the Thunder. In particular, we want to know more about the mind of the Scandinavians on the subject of Twins, and of the peoples who inhabit the Spanish peninsula. As regards our own ancestors there is more to be recovered. I have not attempted to decide whether Hengest and Horsa are mythical or not; their names and the White Horse of their banners suggest twins (Hengst=stallion); on the other hand they appear to be historical characters, even if their names are suspicious. So this matter must also stand over for further investigation. The same thing must be said with regard to the Irish folk-lore, a region in which I am not at home.

[1] Kaindl. *Die Huzulen*, p. 4.

[2] Supra, ch. XIV. p. 169.

CHAPTER XLII

DIOSCURISM AND JASONISM

Now let us turn to what was, perhaps, the most difficult and the most obscure part of our investigation, the extent to which Twin-cult can be traced in Palestine.

Twins in Palestine.

It will be remembered that for Dioscurism generally we have accumulated many striking instances all over Palestine, beginning with the Boanerges of the Gospels; we traced the Twins in Jerusalem at several historical periods, and we found them located to the North of Jerusalem and in the neighbourhood of Jaffa. We found the Phoenician legends strongly marked with Dioscurism, and the same thing could be said of the geography of Galilee. In the Old Testament, Twins were constantly to be recognised from Genesis to the second book of Maccabees; and it was, therefore, clear that we had to discuss the possibility of Dioscurism in the New Testament: if a hypothesis of folk-lore influence was so powerful in elucidating the legends of Genesis, we could not refrain from examining whether it might not also clear up some obscurities in the Gospels. So we admit Dioscurism as a *vera causa* in the New Testament legends also.

Along with this established occurrence of the combined cults of Twins and the Thunder, we also detected unexpectedly a subordinate branch of Dioscurism, to which we may give the name of Jasonism. The way in which we came across it was this: in proving the Twins to have been connected in Graeco-Roman myth with the origin of

navigation, we were obliged to examine the legend of the building and sailing of the first Greek ship the Argo, under the captaincy of Jason. And in this enquiry it became clear that the ship Argo was an evolution of a rudimentary ship which had twins on board.

Jason in Palestine?

From this recognition two questions were started, (i) was Jason, then, a twin; and (ii) was he of Greek or some other nationality? The first question was readily answered in the affirmative, by the finding of his twin-brother; the other question was answered by showing that Jason was a Kabir (or Semitic Dioscure), and this was almost equivalent to suggesting that he came from Phoenicia, a country whose legends we had already shown to be saturated with Dioscurism, or at all events from the N.E. angle of the Mediterranean. And since it could not be denied that in the Hellenistic period, Jason was the recognised equivalent for the Semitic Joshua, we had before us the possibility that in much earlier times, when Phoenicia was influencing Greece and not Greece Phoenicia, Joshua may have been the original form of the name of the Argonautic hero. Moreover, in that case, Jason may have come from inland to the coasts of Tyre and Sidon, since the name Joshua appears to be Hebrew rather than Canaanite or Phoenician. This is a matter that requires closer investigation, and we do not know yet whether the problem is capable of a definite solution. Let us, however, see how far we have travelled. We have established the general diffusion of Dioscurism in Palestine and in Syria, and now along with Dioscurism, there appears to be emerging a secondary and subordinate form of Dioscurism, which we may call Jasonism, if we can find evidence that Jason was honoured with shrines, games or worship in the sense in which the Dioscuri were commonly honoured.

Jasoneia as cult-centres.

This, then, is one of the first points to be established. Are there Jasoneia in the same sense as there are Dioscureia, and do such Jason-sites involve any form of public worship?

Strabo affirms that there are a multitude of such Jason-centres, and uses them to rebut the doubts of persons as to

the reality of Jason himself! He tells us that all through Armenia and Media and the neighbouring lands you will find Jasoneia[1]. In another passage he argues that Jason himself must have visited places; for it is said that Jason came to many places in Armenia and Media, as is testified by the existence of the Jasoneia[2]. He recurs to the point again in another passage in which he affirms that the Jasoneia are Heroa, in memory of Jason, and very much held in esteem by barbarous peoples[3]. According to this the Jason-centre is a Heroön, or a place of honour of a cult-hero. Once more Strabo repeats his argument that the Jasoneum is a proof of the historicity of Jason and the Argonautic expedition; for there are many such shrines which give testimony on the point, some of which have been set up by rulers of states, in the same way that Parmenio established the temple of Jason in Abdera[4]. Notice that Abdera is a city, which, in early times, struck coins with Phoenician inscriptions. (See Eckhel I. 13.)

This time we have actual temple worship ascribed to Jason. Without pressing the reference to the temple too far, it is clear that Jason is a cult-hero, honoured in very much the same way as the Dioscuri themselves; he is, as we have said, a subordinate Dioscure, a particular member of a great family. Unless Strabo is hopelessly inaccurate this Jason-cult is Asiatic as well as Greek. In Greek centres we have certainly games in honour of Jason[5], and naval contests. Whether there were dramatic representations or religious mysteries involved is not known: it is at least lawful to conjecture that the great variety of treatment of Jason, Medea, and the Argonauts by Greek dramatists makes it likely that simpler forms of rustic drama may have preceded or accompanied the more stately monuments of the Attic muse: for the story was one which furnished, as we have said, a variety of situations which were favourable to popular treatment,

Games and contests at Jasoneia.

[1] Strabo 45. [2] id. 503.
[3] id. 526. [4] id. 531.
[5] See note at the beginning of ch. XXI, where Jason is credited in an epigram with the foundation of Isthmian games.

such as the landing of the Argonauts on the woman-inhabited and woman-governed island of Lemnos, the fight between Pollux and Amycus, and the exciting scenes in the courtship of Jason and Medea and the capture of the Golden Fleece.

We note, in passing, that the dramatic representations of the Jason story furnish us with an additional proof of the correctness of Grotefend's derivation of Jason from Phoenicia; for Aeschylus, when he writes on the Argonauts, calls his play by the name of the Kabiri. The play is lost, but we know from Athenaeus[1] that in this play Jason and his companions were drunk when they landed on Lemnos; so there can be no doubt that Jason was known to have been a Kabir, and that the play involved himself and his companions. For it seems clear that with the women ruling on Lemnos and the men absent, the Kabiri referred to can only be Jason and his crew. As, however, it has been commonly understood in the opposite sense, that the inhabitants of Lemnos were the Kabiri of Aeschylus' play, it may be worth while to examine the matter more closely.

Jason in Lemnos.

First of all we learn from the Scholiast on Pindar[2] that Sophocles in his play called *The Women of Lemnos*, and Aeschylus in his *Kabiri*, makes a list (*καταλέγει*) of all the crew of the Argo. Here we must clearly correct the text, so as to read that Sophocles, with Aeschylus, makes sport of (*καταγελᾷ*) the Argonauts. For Athenaeus tells us that Aeschylus was the first to mingle comedy with tragedy by bringing the drunken seamen on the stage:

πρῶτος γὰρ ἐκεῖνος, καὶ οὐκ ὡς ἔνιοί φασιν, Εὐριπίδης, παρήγαγε τὴν τῶν μεθυόντων ὄψιν εἰς τραγῳδίαν· ἐν γὰρ τοῖς Καβείροις εἰσάγει τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἰάσονα μεθύοντας.

Plutarch[3] appears to me to say the same thing, that the Kabiri, in Aeschylus' play, when they landed on Lemnos, threatened 'to drink the house dry':

[1] Deipn. 10, p. 428.
[2] Schol. Pind. Pyth. 4. 303: see Nauck, *Frag. Gk. Trag.* (ed. ii. p. 31).
[3] *Quaest. Conviv.* 2. 1. 7, p. 632 f.

εἴ τις ἀντιστρέψας αἰτιῷτο τοὺς Αἰσχύλου Καβείρους ὄξους σπανίζειν δῶμα ποιήσαντας, ὥσπερ αὐτοὶ παίζοντες ἠπείλησαν.

Surely the Kabiri, here, are not the inhabitants of Lemnos, welcoming the strangers, but the visitors making themselves very much at home[1].

Jason Semitic;

We have now confirmed Grotefend's view as to the Semitic origin of Jason, and we must examine, in view of the possible linguistic equation between Jason and Joshua, whether we can take Jason further inland. I have explained that the equation in question must be allowed to be a probable hypothesis, but I have established Jason as a Kabir independently of the linguistic argument or a definitely Phoenician origin. The hypothesis is probable, because we actually find Hellenistic Jews substituting the name Jason for their original Joshua. At the same time it must be remembered that there may be other origins for the name Jason. For example in Dalman's list of Nabataean inscriptions from Petra, we shall find (no. 3) such a name as Abd-Ijasi (עבראיסי), which suggests a deity whose name is Ijasi. The same name turns up in no. 93, 'Peace be upon Abdijasi the son of —': and Dalman draws attention to the forms Ijasi (איסי) and Ijasu (איסו) in Dussaud's inscriptions from Mid-Syria. In no. 15 Dalman gives the name Ijāsu detached, and apparently not divine ('Gaddu, son of Ijāsu, peace upon him').

perhaps Nabataean,

We should reserve our final judgement as to the necessary equivalent of Joshua and Jason, in view of this new form, which actually occurs in Dussaud in its Greek dress as Ἰᾶσος. We may, perhaps, take Jason inland without linking him to Joshua, or making him pass through Phoenicia.

It should be noted further that the Nabataean form Ijāsu occurs also in Ethiopic; thus in the *Scriptores Aethiopici* (Corp. Scr. Chr. Or.) we have the annals of two kings named Iyasu, which shows that the name is South Semitic rather than North. The observation is an important one if, for other reasons we should identify the name with the Greek Jason.

or South Arabian.

[1] Lobeck, *Aglaoph.* 1207 has misunderstood the passage.

It might mean that Jason came up from S. Arabia, instead of from Phoenicia, in which case any reference to Joshua as the original cult-hero may be dropped[1].

Is it conceivable that we might find in Palestine any of those Jasoneia which Strabo says were so common in Media and Armenia? The mixed racial character of the population of Northern Israel renders it a not unlikely hypothesis. Suppose we move out of the districts and cities that are altogether Phoenician into the frontiers of Phoenicia, where the population is mixed; such a city as Paneas (better known as Caesarea Philippi) will be a good centre for antiquarian research. Its name Paneas, and its sacred grotto of Pan, show Greek influence, its devotion to a succession of Caesars, from Augustus to Nero, and perhaps to Julian, supplies Roman influence; Eusebius, however, tells us that it was a Phoenician city and is strongly supported in the statement. So that we have in Paneas a meeting point of religions and of cultures, the Phoenician having the mark of predominance in early times.

Paneas and its monuments.

Now Eusebius tells us[2] a curious archaeological story with regard to Paneas, namely, that it was the place of residence of the woman whom the Lord healed of a twelve-years' sickness, and that she had, in gratitude for healing, erected, near her own house, a monument on a lofty pedestal, representing herself in the attitude of a suppliant with outstretched hands,

A famous Jesus-sculpture.

[1] For convenience we add some of Dussaud's notes as they occur in *Nouvelles Archives des Missions Scientifiques*, Tom. x. 1902 (Paris).

Amongst the Nabataean inscriptions we have No. 10 from Sabḥa:

Hasbou fille de Iyasou.

'Iyâsou est connu; notre grecque No. 112 (l. 113) en donne la transcription 'Ιᾶσος, en safaitique אים.

The Greek inscription referred to is as follows: 113 from Sabḥa

Ἄμρος Ἰάσου ἐτ[ῶν] ιε'.

Amongst the Safaitic inscriptions we find No. 13, from Es-soummâqiyat

רמאל בר אושו

i.e. Rem, el fils de Ausou.

It is not quite clear that this is the same name as 'Ιᾶσος or related to it; but it has especial interest, because Justin Martyr when transliterating the original name of Joshua (Hoshea) for Greek readers, uses the form Auses.

[2] *H. E.* VII. 18.

receiving the blessing of the Lord who stood erect with his hand extended towards her. Eusebius also tells us that there was growing *on the pedestal* a magic herb, which reached as high as the hem of the Lord's robe, and was capable of healing all sorts of diseases. These statements of Eusebius, who tells us that anyone who visited Paneas could see the bronze statues for himself, were copied by subsequent writers, who added what might be thought necessary to the description of the statuary and its marvels. For instance, Sozomen[1] follows Eusebius in calling the city a Phoenician city; and Theophanes[2] adds that the image of our Lord had been thrown down by the Emperor Julian, who set up his own statue in its place: Julian was, in fact, angry at the cures wrought by the magic herb. The Christians are said to have rescued the dejected statue, and placed it in their Church!

Now with regard to this story of Eusebius, it would probably be safe to say that no reasonable person believes it: indeed, Eusebius himself does not appear to have seen the figures. It is evidently a case of converted monuments such as we recognise when Jupiter Capitolinus is set up as S. Peter in the Church of the Vatican, or when the pilgrim from Aquitaine was told by her guides that a pair of Egyptian statues which she saw were those of Moses and Aaron.

Whose statue was it?

The question then arises as to whose statue it was, if it was not a representation of Jesus. Robinson, in his *Biblical Researches*[3], suggested that it was an imperial statue, which would agree with and express a devotion proper to a city which honoured the Roman emperors and was named after them. Only in that case, two things remained unexplained, the kneeling woman and the magic herb; two-thirds of the monument is left obscure. Now we may suspect that the herb is not a real herb, but a part of the sculpture; it must be there, because Eusebius relates that it reached the hem of the Lord's diploïs, and it is implied that this herb communicated virtue to the garment; that is the herb helped the

[1] *H. E.* v. 21.

[2] *Chronographion*, p. 41: quoted in Reland, *Palestina*, p. 918.

[3] l.c. III. 410 v.

identification of the woman with the well-known Gospel character. Now if the herb was a part of the sculpture, then it is quite an inadequate explanation to say that the monument was an imperial bronze. Let us try a more natural solution. Assume it to be a statue of Jason and Medea; we then explain the herb in the representation, it is part of Medea's magic. When Medea made medicine for the protection of Jason, she took for a chief ingredient the saffron from a crocus-like plant which had been fed with the ichor of the suffering Prometheus:

Jason and Medea?

> 'And the flower of it blossomed a cubit the face of the earth above,
> As the glow of the crocus Corycian, so was the hue thereof,
> Upborne upon pale stalks twain, and below in its earthly bed
> The root thereof as flesh new severed was crimson red.'
>
> (A. S. Way.)

τοῦ δ' ἤτοι ἄνθος μὲν ὅσον πήχυιον ὕπερθεν
χροιῇ Κωρυκίῳ ἴκελον κρόκῳ ἐξεφαάνθη,
καυλοῖσιν διδύμοισιν ἐπήορον· ἡ δ' ἐνὶ γαίῃ
σαρκὶ νεοτμήτῳ ἐναλιγκίη ἔπλετο ῥίζα.

Apoll. Rhod. iii. 853—856.

This flower about a cubit high may very well be the plant which Eusebius describes. Eusebius expressly says that it grew at the Lord's feet, upon the column itself: later writers, like Theophanes, say that it grew underneath the basis of the statue, which appears to be a misunderstanding of Eusebius.

The correctness of our own interpretation may be inferred from the fact that the Greek artists did represent the flower. On a Neapolitan vase, where the capture of the Golden Fleece is delineated, the flower may actually be seen growing near the root of the tree on which the Fleece is suspended, between Medea, who is charming the snake, and Jason who is seizing the Fleece. The vase-painting may be seen as copied in Roscher from a study of Heydemann's[1].

Assuming, then, that we have here a statue of Jason and Medea, we can now see why the people of the place came to say it was a statue of Jesus; for the known equivalence of

[1] Roscher, *Griech. u. Rom. Mythologie*, s.v. Jason; Heydemann, *Hall. Winckelmannsprogr.* 886, Taf. 3.

Jason (Ἰήσων) and Jesus made such an identification perfectly natural. It was not an arbitrary guess, and when Jesus was identified, it was easy to identify the woman, with the aid of the gospel.

We need not be surprised at finding a statue of Medea in Paneas; when Domitian adorned Antioch with monuments and sanctuaries, he established a temple of Asklepios, and built public baths in honour of Medea, whose statue was there set up. It seems clear that the latter statue had a religious as well as an artistic intention. If Medea was an object of devotion in Antioch in the first century of the Christian era, as well as Triptolemos, there is no reason why Jason and Medea should not have been honoured as healers and helpers at Paneas[1].

Jasonism and Dioscurism.

We have now conjecturally restored Jason into close geographical contiguity with Jesus. Each of them also is a twin, and their names are capable of a close parallelism: one of them is a Kabir, the other has been shown to be a Dioscure. If it was lawful to suggest Dioscurism as an interpreting factor in the legends of the Old and New Testament, then Jasonism, as a subordinate form of Dioscurism, may equally be invoked. This suggestion, however, raises some difficult historical problems. For example, one of the best remembered points in the Argonaut story was that Medea, inflamed with love for Jason, provided him with an unction that should preserve him from the fire-breathing bulls and from the death-dealing dragon whom he had to face, before he could capture the Golden Fleece. In Apollonius' account, Medea gives Jason the medicament, and tells him to anoint his whole body with it, as if with ointment. Later writers represent Medea as herself acting as ἀλείπτης. Thus Horace says[2]

The anointing of Jason.

> 'ut Argonautas praeter omnes candidum
> Medea mirata est ducem,
> ignota tauris illigaturum iuga
> perunxit hoc Iasonem,'

and it is not uncommon in representations of the scenes at

[1] For this statue at Antioch see Malalas, p. 263.

[2] *Epod.* III. 9—12.

Colchis to introduce Medea carrying her box of medicament with her. There can be little doubt that the statement

Medea anointed Jason

was very familiar in literature *and in art.*

When Apollonius tells us the story in the *Argonautica,* Medea produces from her sash or breast-band (*μίτρα*) the protective charm, offers it to Jason, who gladly receives it; and then she stands before him, and in a flood of tears declares her love, and beseeches that he will remember Medea when he is gone.

> 'She, with a downcast glance, and maiden fear,
> Bedewed her cheek divine with many a tear:
> Grieving that he, her love, ere long would be
> Far from her gaze, and wandering o'er the sea.
> O'er virgin modesty her eyes prevailed
> And with a troubled speech she him assailed;
> Remember me, she said, and took his hand,
> If e'er thou comest to thy fatherland;
> Thy poor Medea, far remote, will pay
> Thy memory with remembering alway.'

ὡς ἄρ' ἔφη, καὶ σίγα ποδῶν πάρος ὄσσε βαλοῦσα
θεσπέσιον λιαροῖσι παρηίδα δάκρυσι δεῦεν
μυρομένη, ὅτ' ἔμελλεν ἀπόπροθι πολλὸν ἑοῖο
πόντον ἐπιπλάγξεσθαι· ἀνιηρῷ δέ μιν ἄντην
ἐξαῦτις μύθῳ προσεφώνεεν, εἶλέ τε χειρὸς
δεξιτερῆς· δὴ γάρ οἱ ἀπ' ὀφθαλμοὺς λίπεν αἰδώς·
μνώεο δ', ἢν ἄρα δή ποθ' ὑπότροπος οἶκαδ' ἵκηαι,
οὔνομα Μηδείης· ὡς δ' αὖτ' ἐγὼ ἀμφὶς ἐόντος
μνήσομαι.

Apoll. Rh. iii. 1062—1070.

Here we have the unction and the weeping woman. Notice, too, that in the Paneas monument also it is a weeping woman: for Malalas tells us that he visited Paneas, and found there, in possession of a converted Jew, named Bassus, a copy of the petition which the woman presented to Herod, in which she tells the story of her appeal to the Lord: 'I, falling before him, *flooded the ground with my tears, confessing my daring*[1].'

[1] See Malalas, lib. x. pp. 304—308 for the Eusebian story and the traditions which he gathered at Paneas.

Was the Gospel Jasonized?

Is it possible that the Gospel itself has been Jasonized by the insertion of a story in imitation of or in parallelism to this of the anointing of Jason? We remember the beautiful account of the woman who washed our Lord's feet with tears and anointed him with costly unguent. What makes the story suspicious is that it was told at different places and times, and apparently of different people. Mark's story[1] is of a woman who comes in with costly unguents into the house of Simon the leper at Bethany, who was entertaining Jesus. John[2], who evidently knows the Marcan story, deliberately corrects Mark, and maintains that it was Mary of Bethany who anointed the Lord. Luke[3] transfers the whole story to the house of a Pharisee named Simon, who, in a somewhat supercilious manner, was entertaining Jesus at dinner, and declares that the woman was a great sinner. We take it for granted that so extraordinary an incident did not occur twice. So does the author of the fourth Gospel. The discrepancies in these accounts certainly lend a colour to the suggestion that we are dealing with legendary matter that is trying to make itself historical. If that should be the right interpretation, there is no likelier quarter in which to seek for the origin of the story than in the tale of Jason and Medea.

Mary and Medea.

The difficulty, however, at once suggests itself that the cases are not really parallel: it is easy to write down the two sentences

Medea anointed Jason,
Mary anointed Jesus,

and to point out their literary parallelism; but in the latter case the unguent is of surpassing sweetness, and fills the house with odour; in the former case, if tradition can be trusted, it was an evil-smelling compound. When Horace had some unusually strong garlic at one of Maecenas' dinners, he compared the smell of it to the medicine with which Medea anointed Jason, and to the horrible poison which she

[1] Mark xiv. 3—9. [2] John xii. 1—8.
[3] Luke vii. 35—50.

prepared for the daughter of Creon: in the passage which we have already quoted,

> 'ut Argonautas praeter omnes candidum
> Medea mirata est ducem,
> ignota tauris illigaturum iuga
> perunxit hoc Iasonem;
> hoc delibutis ulta donis paelicem
> serpente fugit alite.'
>
> *Epod.* III. 9—14.

We may suspect also that its taste was as detestable as its smell; for there was a tradition, preserved to us on a single monument, an Attic vase from Caere, which represents Jason as actually swallowed by the dragon, and subsequently disgorged[1]. It is natural to suggest that just as the fire-breathing bulls did not like the smell of Medea's medicine, so the dragon did not like the taste of it. We can hardly, then, compare the Medean unguent with the spikenard of the Gospel.

Limits of Dioscuric influence.

We are now faced with the problem of the determination of the limits of a possible Dioscuric influence. It is clearly one thing to be able to explain or remove a miracle, with which an account has been surcharged, by the hypothesis of popular Dioscuric influence; but it is quite another to relegate to the region of artificial legend an incident which is altogether free from miraculous elements, and the description of which is marked by the vividness of a story that is truly told. A true history becomes more credible when its miraculous accretions are removed; but a history, whose fundamental events are subtrahible, ceases, even if it be vividly told, to have the confidence of the reader. Such, at least, is the impression which is at first produced, by the application of Dioscurism (including Jasonism) as an elucidating factor to the Gospel. We proceeded on the hypothesis that we had discovered in Dioscurism a critical *vera causa*: this was certainly the case

[1] For the emerging Jason see Roscher, or Miss Harrison, *Themis*, p. 476. That the Dragon is the Night is suggested by Sadi in his *Gulistan* (trans. by Platts, p. 10),

> 'The sun's orb disappeared in darkness,
> Jonah entered the mouth of the fish.'

in the legends of Genesis, and in the freely-handled narration of the second book of Maccabees; whether our application of the same methods of explanation to the New Testament is illicit, is the question that we must try to decide. Certainly there can be no *a priori* exclusion of the Dioscuric hypothesis: it has explained for us too many situations to be treated with critical contempt. On the other hand, it is quite likely that the method is applied by us in the New Testament sometimes rightly and sometimes wrongly. It is surely right when it is explaining Boanerges, and perhaps right when it explains that the young disciples who bore that name wished to invoke the doom of Sodom on the inhospitable Samaritans; for the angels in the story of the Destruction of Sodom are clearly Dioscures. Here the parallel is perfect, and can be reinforced from a Dioscuric incident in the second book of Maccabees, where the story of Sodom can again be seen to furnish a parallel to the narrative. Possibly, also, the twice told tale of the miraculous haul of fish may be credited to popular Dioscuric beliefs; though here there are objections that will readily be felt[1]: on the other hand, such accounts as the marriage in Cana (in spite of the involved miracle), and the anointing of the Lord, are so simple and natural, that one hesitates to cover them with the hypothesis of the invention of a folk-lorist. It would be foolish to speak dogmatically of our results at this stage of the investigation: we have certainly resolved some riddles, but whether we have carried our explanations into regions that did not need such elucidation, let the reader judge, who is occupied with ourselves in the evaluation of the Biblical story. It may be proper to remark at this point that we have not followed the methods nor incorporated the results of those who regard the Christian story as a disguised astrology, based on the supposed knowledge of the Babylonians with regard to the signs and constellations in the heavens, and the supposed diffusion of this knowledge among all sorts

No room for astrology

[1] As for instance, that if the Dioscures bring the fish, there were other twins on board the ship, before Jesus appeared. Why did not they bring the luck?

and conditions of men. We proceed from the 'solid ground of nature,' to which Wordsworth refers us, and our folk-lore combinations antedate by thousands of years the Babylonian astronomy, which, in any case, has been credited with an impossible antiquity; as we have already pointed out, the last thing that happens to the Twins is that they get into the Zodiac. Hence the Zodiac does not constitute their true explanation: how could two special stars in the sky explain an age-long and universal Fear? or a Babylonian school of astrologers, in relatively modern times, instruct the farthest Hebrides? A particular instance will, perhaps, explain the point more clearly. The monuments of Mithra present at first sight a decidedly Zodiacal appearance; the central figure of the god slaughtering the bull is ringed by the twelve signs in many of the sculptures that have come down to us. It is equally clear that the Heavenly Twins are in the central part of the sculpture as the two Torch-bearers, Cautes and Cautopates. Thus we have the Twins twice over, Twins being superposed on Twins. Evidently the bordering Zodiac is a later accretion to the original representation of Mithra and the Twins: in other words, Mithra has a great deal to do with the Twins, but very little, if anything, to do with the Zodiac. We must, therefore, subtract the Zodiac from the Mithra monuments if we are to understand Mithraism; and in the same way we subtract the stars Castor and Pollux from the argument, if we wish to understand the meaning and evolution of the Dioscuri.

or for the Zodiac.

CHAPTER XLIII

SOME FURTHER REMARKS UPON GRAECO-ROMAN DIOSCURISM

We have shown in a variety of ways that the Twin-cults of Greece and Rome are closely linked to the savage beliefs which attach to the Fear of the Thunder and the Fear of Twins. It is clear, however, that much still remains obscure with regard to the tradition of the cult and the meaning of its chief symbols. If, for example, we were to return to the study of the great votive monument of Argenidas at Verona, crowded as it is with Dioscuric suggestions, we should probably feel that we were beginning to understand it, but that there was not a little to be said by way of further elucidation. The first glance at the inscription and at the returned ship lying in harbour informs us that the Dioscuri had protected Argenidas on a sea-voyage. Probably the sculptured pig at the base of the altar is an intimation that he has paid his debt ritually as well as artistically. The two figures on the left of the sculpture are evidently the Twins themselves, not here represented as horsemen, nor sensibly pourtrayed as heroes, but as grave and reverend men, perhaps dead men.

The votive relief of Argenidas.

The ship.

The twins.

On the rocks over the harbour is perched a cock; we have traced him as the Persian substitute for the original Graeco-Roman thunder-bird, the Woodpecker; the sculpture, therefore, reminds us of the link between Twins and the Thunder, or, in Graeco-Roman language, that the Twins are the children of Zeus.

The cock.

There remain, however, two parts of the sculpture which require further study: (1) the Dokana or Sacred Beams, which appear in the right hand corner, with a superscription suggesting that they adorn an Anakeion or House of the

The Twin-House.

The Dokana.

Anakes: (2) the two tall amphorae, from one of which an emerging snake is finding its way to the Anakeion. The twin-ness of these two symbols is evident: the Dokana have been resolved into a pair of equal and similar H-shaped symbols; and the amphorae are also equal and similar, only differing in the fact that one of them has a snake visible and emerging from it, and the other not. It is common to explain the Dokana as representing the entrance to a tomb, and so to give the cult a Chthonian character and to represent the Twins as the spirits of the dead: a parallel to the structure of the combined Dokana has been found in the conventional gateway to a Chinese pagoda; and certain parallels have also been adduced, from Greek literature, for the worship of the Twins as being worship at a tomb.

The amphorae.

The snake.

Those who make this explanation commonly go on to point out the Chthonian significance of the snake in connection with the amphora. On Roman denarii it is not unusual to have a pair of amphorae entwined with snakes. The vessels certainly denote the Twins. In the representation to which we alluded of the two primitive Kabirs in the boat, they are seen on the carved gem to be grasping an amphora which stands between them, and this amphora, though single, must have a similar explanation to what we find in the votive monument of Argenidas. It is by no means clear why the Twin-sailors of antiquity should be hugging this amphora on the gem in question, or why they should be represented by Argenidas as standing behind the pair of amphorae with the snake.

In the *Annual of the British school at Athens for* 1906—7 we have a description by Mr Wace of a relief set up by successful ball-players as a votive offering to the Dioscuri. As this description brings out the connection between the Dioscuric symbols, and their supposed funerary character, it will be interesting to transcribe a passage: Mr Wace tells us that 'above the inscription is a representation of the Dioscuri in low and rather flat relief. They stand facing one another in exactly symmetrical attitudes, wearing πῖλοι and carrying long lances. Their only garment is a chlamys, which hangs

Votive relief of ball-players.

loosely over the elbows and passes behind the back, leaving the body quite nude. Their hair is long and curly. A tall amphora with a conical lid stands on a square base between them, while above it, and apparently resting on its handles, are the δόκανα. These consist of two vertical joined by two horizontal beams in the middle and at the top. The uppermost horizontal beam, which projects beyond the vertical ones, is decorated with an egg between two snakes.... *Of the attributes of the heroes we have here the funereal amphora, which refers to the legend that they were buried near Sparta* (Alkman, fr. 5; Pindar, *Nem.* x. 56; Homer, *Il.* III. 243; *Od.* XI. 301) *and the* δόκανα....Here, as in the two other reliefs we have snakes in connection with the δόκανα, and this belief seems to confirm the arguments advanced in the Sparta Museum Catalogue that *the Dioscuri were worshipped as dead heroes.*'

In these words, Mr Wace brings out the commonly accepted belief that the cult of the Twins was Chthonian in character; and confirms the belief that the leading Dioscuric symbols have something to do with the dead.

So the question arises whether we can do anything further to explain these symbols. They are clearly fundamental in the Graeco-Roman cult. How do they arise and at what point, in the evolution of Dioscurism from its primitive nucleus in savage Fears? It may be conjectured that the explanation lies in the following directions, if our theory of the origin of Dioscurism be correct.

Meaning of the amphorae.

The amphorae must go back into primitive pots of native manufacture in savage communities; now we have seen all through Africa the occurrence and recurrence of such pots. We found in West Africa that they were used for burying the unfortunate child-victims of the primeval fear. When one child dies, or is put to death, its twin-ship is emphasized by the burying or exposing of a second pot along with it; this is to intimate that both children are to be regarded as buried, though one of them has been spared[1]. The parallels

[1] The very same thing occurs in the Peruvian treatment of Twins, as Arriaga tells us: the dead twin is placed in a pot and kept within the house as a sacred thing: see Arriaga, *Extirpacion de la Idolatria*, p. 16.

to these customs are the dual amphorae with pair of snakes, the single amphora, or the pair of amphorae with single snake. We notice further the custom which prevails on the Congo and in the Uganda Protectorate of burying or exposing the placenta of one twin, or of both, in an earthen pot. The devotion of the savage to the twin-placenta or to the placenta of a king is extraordinary: these things are taboo of the front rank. I imagine the explanation to lie in the following direction. The reverence for the twin-placenta arises from the fact that the life of the twin has been spared, and a substitute for it found. The placenta is a twin of the twins. Accordingly the placenta is buried or exposed instead of the child; it has its own earthen pot for burial or exposure; according to the degree in which the taboo has been lifted, whether from one child or from both, there should be one tabooed pot with relics or a couple[1].

Burial of the placenta.

Now we begin to see daylight on one or two other practices which are reported from the Congo region, where we have the twin-cult in a very interesting state of transition.

If we turn back to Mr Kenred Smith's account of the superstitions of the Congolese we shall see the importance of the maduka, or earthen pot containing the placenta. These madukas are exposed on forked branches of trees by the way side, each planted branch having three or four prongs, upon which the maduka can rest. So far, so good. Dr Girling sends me a photograph of such a maduka in mid-air, poised on its inverted three-prong branch[2]. The bare branches represent the lightning, and the nearest analogue is the Greek or Assyrian trident, which we have already explained as standing for the split lightning. Here then we have the twins given back symbolically to their parent, the Thunder: in cases where the placenta is buried or laid in the

The maduka.

[1] The reverence for the placenta of a king does not mean that the king has died or ought to die, but merely that, in a secondary sense, the placenta has come to be regarded as the king's double. It is actually called by the name Twin among the Baganda. Mr Roscoe acutely suggests the Egyptian parallel of the Ba and the Ka.

[2] Mr Howell gives me a similar picture of a pair of madukas, each bearing a pot, on opposite sides of a road.

bush, we have a substitution for the actual burial of the twins, which burial is accomplished symbolically in the burial of the placenta.

Dr Girling, as we have seen, gives us further information. Among the tribes whom he describes it is common to erect the madukas (or, as I call them, lightning trees), on opposite sides of the road. He also tells us that there are some tribes which erect a rude shed and bury the twins at the corners. Here we have the clue to the origin of the Dokana. The Dokana arise out of these rude burial structures, either by the setting up of a single shed with uprights and cross beams, or by the laying of a connecting bar across a pair of maduka trees on opposite sides of the road. This would explain at once the apparently funerary character of the Dokana at Sparta, and their attachment to the grave of the Twins.

We may find, I think, other traces of these elementary Dokana in African savage life. Du Chaillu tells us that in the French Congo, the house where twins are born is tabooed by the erecting of tall poles at the door and planting between them a number of pegs painted white; and there are also accounts of other forms of twin structure, such as rudimentary huts in the forest, all of which must be classed with the symbolic Dokana and related to them.

If, then, we are correct in our explanation of the Dioscuric symbols, almost every one of them is derived from primitive savage customs, closely parallel to those which prevail to-day in the African forests. The Chthonian character of the cult arises from the rule that Twins were formerly killed. This is remembered, even when twin-killing has disappeared. One or both of them is killed in symbol, as is shown by the amphorae and the snakes.

Under the guidance of these considerations, the Argenidas relief becomes quite an illuminated document; the Twins and the Thunder are clearly revealed, and a number of the stages through which the Twin-cult passed, before it became the religion of such as sail on stormy seas.

It is, therefore, a religious monument of the first importance.

CHAPTER XLIV

ARE THE TWIN-MYTHS ONE OR MANY?

Are Twin-myths one or many?

In the present chapter we propose to ourselves a question the final answer to which may not be immediately forthcoming, as to whether the forms of the Twin-legend which have come down to us are interconnected, or whether we are to regard them as independent products of the evolution of human thought. Every student of folk-lore is aware of the perplexity which is caused by the appearance of what is substantially the same folk-story or folk-custom in places that are widely remote from one another on the surface of the earth. It seems impossible that such ideas or practices can have originated independently, in view of their singular coincidence in detail; and, on the other hand, it seems almost as impossible to find an explanation for their transfer from a common origin to the places where they are actually discovered.

The bull-roarer.

A well-known instance, which the late Andrew Lang discoursed on at some length, is the connection between the bull-roarer of the savages in Central Australia, and the rhombus which is used in the Greek mysteries and initiations. Here it is not merely that the ancient Greeks and the black tribes in Australia had discovered that a flat piece of wood with pointed ends can be whirled round by a string in such a way as to produce a humming noise, but that both Greeks and Australians employ the invention religiously, with the object of sanctifying the initiation of boys into tribal fellowship, or of inducing the good offices of the thunder-god. Is it a fact that it is not so far off from Greece and Phrygia to Central Australia as it seems to be on the map?

The question, thus simply raised, is made even more perplexing by the fact that boys in Aberdeenshire make a toy that is practically the equivalent of the bull-roarer and designate it by the name of a 'thunner-spell.' Are we to connect Scotland also with Central Australia? I imagine the answer will have to be in the affirmative. What shall we say, then, if we bring on the scene a number of not very dissimilar weather rattles employed by North American Indians for the purpose of making weather, or calling fish or the like[1]. Is the world really one, and do all its tribes betray in their customs a common origin and an originally united tribal life? We should hesitate to make such broad conclusions, until we have expanded the premises on which we make them.

Diffusion of belief in Boanerges.

Something of the same perplexity turns up in the Twin problem upon which we have been engaged. We were confronted with the frequent attribution to the Twins of a filial relation between themselves and the Sky or the Thunder and the Lightning. It was not a little surprising that this religious belief occurred in Europe, in East Africa, and in Peru. Did the Baronga get the belief from the Aryans or the Semites? Have the Peruvians an ancestry that reaches across to India or Greece or Africa? Or are all these beliefs independent attainments of the advancing mind of man, making similar guesses at whatever is obscure or uncanny in the world around him? In order to bring the matter a little more into relief, I propose to examine some curious developments, which suggest that the Twin-cult in certain quarters became a Dualist Religion of far-reaching effect.

Ante-natal strife of twins.

We begin by the common folk-lore belief that there is supposed, by many peoples, to be an ante-natal strife between twins which marks them out as opposites. We are familiar with this in the Biblical account of Esau and Jacob, and the trouble which they caused their mother before, as St Paul says, they had done either good or evil. We have the same feature in the Greek story of Proitos and Akrisios

[1] We shall also find traces of the bull-roarer in W. Africa. See Additional Notes.

and in other places: it appears somewhat modified in the post-natal feature of a rooted hostility between the Twins, according to which one of them persecutes, exiles, or kills the other.

The Twins and Dualism; among the Hurons

We notice, in the next place, that the same thing is told of the Twin-Heroes of the Hurons in North-America. They quarrel before birth, and their mother hears them at strife. One of them is a good twin, the other is bad. They are called Juskeha the Good and Tawiskara the Bad. Once in the world they operate as Good and Evil Principles, one of them being responsible for all the good creatures and products of the world, and the other being the author of everything unpleasant and bad. It is easy to see that under favourable circumstances such beliefs might grow into a dualistic theology: and the strange thing is that the greatest dualistic theology the world has known appears to have arisen in this very way. For example[1], when Eznik, the Armenian, comes to write the account of the Persian cosmogony in his book against Heresies, he tells us that Zervan for a thousand years offered sacrifice in the hope of obtaining a son: at the end of the time his faith became affected by doubt; and when his wife conceived, the faith asserted itself as Ormuzd and the doubt as Ahriman[2]. Before they were born, Ahriman was jealous of his brother and determined to outwit him. He heard his father say, that he would give the rule to whichever son was born first, and he obtained the boon; the dark, ill-favoured brother came to birth first, and for 9000 years he has the authority over his luminous and sweet-savoured brother Ormuzd. As is well known, Ormuzd and Ahriman are the two opposing principles of the Persian Dualism, which is seen to rest, in popular opinion, upon an interpretation of Twin-births.

and in Persia.

[1] I owe the references to Dannhardt, *Natursagen*, I. p. 10 etc.

[2] In this connection we must not forget that there is something similar in the story in the Protevangelium Jacobi (ch. 17) where Mary, now near to the Nativity, is observed to be alternately sad and gay. She explains the situation in language borrowed in part from the book of Genesis which suggests that the details belong to an original twin-birth that 'she sees with her eyes two peoples, one weeping and wailing and the other gladsome and exultant.'

What are we to think, then, of this parallelism between the beliefs of the Huron Indians and the ancient Persians? Dannhardt says, unhesitatingly, that the stories have a common origin, and that the dualism of the American Indians has migrated from Iran eastward[1]. We have, however, already intimated that the pairs of twin-heroes, who turn up in the legends of North and South America, must be the product of a common myth-making element, in which case it will not be easy to avoid a generalisation which would make the whole body of American legends (Indian, Mexican, Peruvian, and Brazilian) dependent, in part, from the same source which underlies the Iranian traditions. Such are some of the suggestions which present themselves, as we carry out our enquiry into the effect of Twin-cults in producing Dualistic religious beliefs. The coincident twins, as distinguished from the identical twins, make for Dualism.

We must not, however, unify the world too rapidly, nor comprehend all similar anthropological developments too hastily under the terms of a single formula, without a good deal more enquiry into the varieties of religious thought and expression. It seems, however, to be quite likely that the study of the Twin-cult may be a powerful solvent in the mythologies of Persia and Central Asia, as well as in those of Greece, Rome and Syria.

In this connection we may remember that it is commonly believed that there has been some reaction from Persian Dualism upon both Judaism and Christianity, a probability which makes it the more incumbent upon us to detect, if we can, the underlying strata of belief in the Iranian religion; for if we succeed in our analysis so far as to say to the ancient Persians, 'These be thy gods, O Iran!' we may also find the formula returning to the hand that hurled it, sent back with the added legend inscribed upon it,

'mutato nomine de te
Fabula narratur.'

[1] Dannhardt, l.c. p. 79.

CHAPTER XLV

TWINS IN THE BRIDAL-CHAMBER AND IN THE BIRTH-CHAMBER

THE beneficent influence of the Dioscuri and of the traditional twins whom they represent upon the Bridal-chamber and the Birth-chamber, is one of their earliest recognised characteristics. It is also one of the extant surviving traits by which they are known. We have already remarked that it is, in S. Wales, considered lucky to have the presence of twins at a wedding. The Açvins were the groomsmen at the marriage of Soma to their sister Surya[1]: and appeal is made to them, along with other deities, to confer fertility on the bride[2]. They even give the wife of the eunuch a child and make the barren cow yield milk[3]: they give a husband to the old maid[4].

In the same way we find the Twins as marriage helpers in the Roman households, either as Castor and Pollux, or in the form of Picumnus and Pilumnus; these latter are becoming more intelligible, since we have found the connection between the Roman twins and the Woodpecker, the original Roman thunder-bird (Picus). His companion Pilus (Pilumnus) I have sought to connect, not with the big pestle that he has been credited with, but with the thunderstone in one of its ancient forms. Whether this be correct or not, it is certain that his brother who bears the name of the Woodpecker is a thunder-man; it is equally certain that thunderstones are in many cases used as charms by women on the verge of child-birth. Blinkenberg points out that 'flint arrow-heads (i.e. thunderstones) are used (in Poland) as a

[1] Rig-Veda, 10. 85. 9. See Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 51.
[2] *Ib.* 10. 184. 2. [3] *Ib.* 1. 112. 3. [4] *Ib.* 1. 116. 1.

help for women in labour[1].' In such a case it is not unnatural to suppose that the thunderstones stand for the Twins, considered as the children of the Thunder. We have referred above to the employment of thunderstones by the Badegas of Southern India, as a cure for barrenness[2]. The transition from the idea of the Twins as conferring blessing on the Bride-chamber to the Twins as assisting in the Birth-chamber is perfectly natural and logical.

In this connection we can find some illustrations from Greek monuments and from savage customs. There is, for example, in the Museum at Sparta, a marble group[3] where a woman kneeling, apparently in the act of child-birth, is flanked by two much smaller male figures, who apparently are assisting her, one of them by the pressure of the hand upon the body, and the other by making signs or sounds to drive away the evil spirits. Hiller von Gärtringen explains the group[4] as 'Mother with the Twins.' Marx thinks they are the Dioscuri. Wilamowitz-Möllendorff calls them (I do not quite know why) Nikomachos and Gorgesos[5]. The description, which I have taken from Samter, is accompanied by the important parallel from the island of Bali in the Dutch Indies, preserved in the Berlin *Museum für Völkerkunde*, in which a parturient woman is assisted by one or two male figures and threatened by a horrible demon figure. It is natural to regard this case also as being an illustration of the protection given by Twins at the time of child-birth.

Returning to the benediction of the Bride-chamber, we remember that this is the motive for the opening scenes in the *Acts of Thomas*, where the Apostle Judas Thomas, the Twin of the Messiah, finds himself at the marriage feast of a king's daughter and is invited by the king to come into the bride-chamber and bless the young people. The situation is the more interesting, because the Christianity which

[1] Cracow, *Revue des traditions populaires*, VI. 36.
[2] *Supra*, p. 212, n. 4.
[3] See Marx, *Athen. Mittheilungen*, X. (1885), pl. VI.
[4] *Thera*, III. 163.
[5] See Samter, *Geburt, Hochzeit, Tod*, p. 9 ff.

Judas Thomas preaches, involves the abstinence from and abandonment of the marriage state; celibacy, as a counsel of perfection, was strongly emphasized in the early Syrian Church. So Judas, accompanied by his alternate, comes into the bride-chamber with a benediction the very opposite of that which the Dioscuri usually bring, and, in fact, he persuades the young people to begin a life of marriage that was not to be marriage. As we have said, the incident shows how closely the author of the *Acts* keeps to the Dioscuric ideas upon which he bases his work. As his Apostle is a Twin, he will discharge all the twin-functions. The story acquires a peculiar importance when we remember that the author of the Fourth Gospel also makes his exordium of the public works of Jesus, with an invitation to a marriage. 'Both Jesus was called and his disciples to the marriage.' Upon this occasion he wrought his 'beginning of miracles.'

What shall we say of this? Must it be added to the suspicious Dioscuric miracles in other parts of the Gospels; or is it the case that the author of the *Acts of Thomas* has imitated the Fourth Gospel in making the Apostle Judas the unexpected guest at a wedding feast? Even in the latter case, we should have to admit that the story of what happened at Cana of Galilee suggested to him a Dioscuric imitation which is an admission that the narrative was not far removed from a Dioscuric legend. We may be able to see the relation of the two stories more clearly as time goes on, and the subject becomes better understood. We must not be satisfied to regard the problem of the evaluation of the Biblical accounts as an unresolved riddle.

It is natural that women who come under special twin-influences should themselves bear twins; we find many popular beliefs of this kind, such as the bearing of twins as the result of eating a twin-fruit[1]: they are, however, equally well explained by the association of ideas and by sympathetic magic. Thus a woman in Denmark will bear twins, if she

[1] See above, p. 168.

eats twin-fruit[1]: and in Sweden if she looks upon a woman with two aprons[2].

In Brittany, however, as we have seen[3], the two apples, preserved in a hollow oak, represent the children of the thunder and can still the storm: what shall we say, then, when we find that in Poitou a woman who eats a double nut will have twins, or when, as in Mentone, the pregnant woman who only finds such a double fruit is fated[4]?

For a similar tale of twin-birth from eating two fruits or grains, we may refer to a story told by Radloff, 'from Altaic tribes in South Siberia, concerning a girl, who, when married, was found to be already pregnant. On being questioned, her account of the matter was that she had picked up a lump of ice, which had fallen with a heavy rain, and on breaking it in pieces, she had found inside and eaten two grains of wheat. When her time came, she bore twin boys[5].'

In Scotland the well of St Mungo is credited with similar fertilising powers: I do not know how St Mungo comes to the possession of these Dioscuric influences.

There is an amusing story told of Hogg, the Ettrick Shepherd, in this connection. 'One day Hogg took the Johnstones (John Johnstone, editor of the Inverness *Courier*) to one of those innumerable wells that bear the name of the seemingly bibulous saint Mungo, and taking up a glassful of the enchanted water, he handed it to Mrs Johnstone, saying with a delicacy that was all his own, and fortunately that of nobody else: "Noo, mem, drink this: every leddy that takes a tumblerfu' o' this is sure to ha'e twins." "Indeed," Mrs Johnstone with cautious hesitation answered, "then,—I—think—i'll—take only half a glass."' As I have said,

[1] *Skattegraveren*, IV. 68 (i.e. *Digger after hidden treasures*).

[2] Sundblad in *Gammeldags Seder og Bruk*, p. 150 (i.e. *Old Time Customs and Usages*).

I owe this reference and the preceding to Dr Feilberg.

[3] *Supra*, p. 284.

[4] Sebillot, *Folk-Lore de France*, III. 391.

[5] I give the story from Hartland, *Perseus*, I. 78; and have verified it from Radloff.

I do not quite see why St Mungo (St Kentigern) is connected with twins.

There is a curious Russian survival of the belief that the Twins bring good luck to the birth-chamber and the newly born. It is still the custom in Russia to bring a present to the newly arrived child, in the form of a toy woodpecker. This is said to be for luck. The meaning of the gift is clear enough in the light of the relation between the Woodpecker and the Twins, nor need we doubt that the Woodpecker is involved in the Picumnus, who appears as birth-helper in a Roman family.

ADDITIONAL NOTES

Page 8. *Single Thunder-Births.*

In the Northern Territory of Australia, as we learn from traditions recently collected by Professor Spencer, and published by the Melbourne Government[1], we find that it is common to believe that children are due to ancestry outside their own parents: such children may be referred to Snake-parentage, Honey-comb-parentage, Thunder-parentage, or Rainbow-parentage. In each case the intrusive parent has a number of spirit-children whom he takes with him, and who are on the look-out for the right lubras (black girls) into whom to enter. Thus we are informed of Namaran, a Thunder-man of the Mungarai tribe[2] "that he had plenty of children,...that he went into the water-pool,...where he kept the children, coming out every now and then to make rain and thunder and lightning....If a Gnaritibellan woman comes and puts a foot into the water, a spirit child at once goes up her leg into her body; if she drinks water, it goes in by her mouth. *The child is thunder, like the old Namaran man.*"

P. 12. *The name Zabdai.*

It should be noticed that there is a Beth-Zabdai on the banks of the Tigris, to the north of Mosul. Apparently it is an alternative name for Jezira. Thus in a Syriac MS. in my possession, there is a story of some Indians who came to visit the Catholicos Mar Simeon at *Jezira, which is Beth-Zabdai* (or perhaps *Jezira of Beth-Zabdai*).

The name is an ancient one, whether it belongs to the place or the district. For instance, it occurs frequently in the history of John Bar Penkaye (edited by Mingana). In the current form it might seem to suggest a sanctuary; on the other hand it may be a Biblical transference, or the intimation of a Jewish Settlement.

[1] *Report of the Preliminary Scientific Expedition to the Northern Territory.* Melbourne, 1912.

[2] l.c. pp. 43, 44.

Again, in the history of S. Simeon Bar Sabba'e[1] we are told that Sapor built a city named Karka-d-Ledan, and settled in it many captives whom he had taken from Arabia and Singara and *Beth-Zabdai* and Arzum and Kardu and Armenu. Here it appears in the 4th century as the name of a district.

Enquiry elicits the information that the name Beth-Zabdai is not now current on the Tigris, but that to this day whenever an official letter is written from Deir Zaaferan, the seat of the Jacobite bishop in the Tur Abdin, or from the Patriarchate at Mardin, to the priest residing at Azakh (some six hours west of Jezira on the way to Midyat), he is addressed as residing at Beth-Zabdai. This is the ecclesiastical name of Azakh, but it is only known to the clergy, and to those who are familiar with Syriac literature. It appears that the name belongs really to the whole district west of Jezira. Its chief villages were Finnik, Arjool, Ausen, Azakh, and Themanoon, while Arzoon (now a ruin) is said to have been a walled city as large as Diarbekr!

In the first book of Maccabees, Zabdai is reckoned as an Arab name: e.g. I Macc. xi. 17, 'Zabdiel the Arabian.' xii. 31, 'The Arabians who are called Zabedaeans.'

P. 12. *The Thunderstone amongst the Celts.*

That the Celts had the same belief with regard to the potency of the thunderstone, and that they called such stones after the thunder, as we have noticed in other parts of the world, beginning with Denmark, may be seen from the occurrence of flint axes in the dolmens in Brittany. Thus le Rouzic describes such axes as follows[2]:—"Axes or celts generally in hard stone, generally in rare stone. Some of these are pierced...to allow of their being suspended. Several, from 10—42 centimetres long, are wonderfully perfect. They do not appear to have been used, and can only have been votive axes: even at the present day our peasants consider them valuable talismans and call them Men-Gurun, or Thunder-bolts ['Men' means stone in Breton]."

P. 14. *Is the trident forked-lightning or a fish-spear?*

There has been some controversy as to the correct interpretation of the trident in Greek art, e.g. the trident of Poseidon, or the trident set up at the stern of ships. On one side it has been regarded as the archaic fish-spear, on the other, as the Babylonian

[1] *Pat. Syr.* II. 832.

[2] *Megalithic monuments of Carnac and Locmariaquer*, by le Rouzic, tr. by W. M. Taff, p. 26.

sign of forked-lightning. Probably cases can be found coming under either head. It should, however, be noted that the occurrence of the trident amongst certain Himalayan tribes, suggests a non-marine deity (see Atkinson: *Himalayan Districts*, Vol. II. Allahabad, pp. 826 sqq.): in these cases it appears to be the symbol of a fire-god.

The lightning symbol in Babylonian and Assyrian art can be traced not only in the form of the trident, but in the simpler form of the fork with two teeth: as such it is the symbol of Adad the Thunder-god. A reference to King, *Rock-Inscriptions of the Jûdî Dagh* (in S.B.A. xxxv. 2, p. 75), will show the conventional form of the symbol by which Adad is represented.

P. 15. *Picus who is also Zeus.*

For the cult-translation from Picus to Zeus, we have a somewhat confused, but extremely valuable, piece of mythological genealogy in the Chronicles of John Malalas[1]. It runs as follows: "Now the aforesaid Thestios had three daughters, to wit, Leda and Klytia and Melanippe: Leda her father Thestios bestowed in marriage on a certain Tyndarios, from which union with Leda the aforesaid Tyndaros (sic) had a daughter named Klytemnestra; when she was grown up, she became the wife of Agamemnon, king of Mycene: Leda had immoral relations with a youth of senatorial rank, named Kyknos, the son of Ederion, king of Achaia, whose descent was reckoned from Picus Zeus (τοῦ καταγομένου ἐκ τοῦ πίκου Διός), though Tyndarios, the husband of Leda, was entirely unaware of what had occurred.

"So Leda, in an airy mind, withdrew to a citadel of her own near the Eurotas river, where she brought forth as the result of her union with Kyknos, the son of king Ederion, three children, to wit, Castor and Polydeuces and Helena." Malalas concludes by quoting Palaiphatos to the effect that it is mere idle talk of the poets to represent Zeus as having become a swan (Kyknos) and deflowered Leda. The real story is what Malalas has recorded.

The interest of the foregoing genealogy lies in the way in which Zeus is taken out of the twin-myth, and Kyknos left in: the key of the perplexity is left in the lock, for Kyknos, who is the double of Zeus, is now made to be the son of Ederion, and to be descended from Zeus. Thus Zeus is got rid of in two ways, first by being made the ancestor of Kyknos, second by the

[1] p. 82 (ed. Niebuhr).

intrusion of a royal pedigree and a special royal person between Zeus and Kyknos.

The next thing we observe is that it is not really Zeus who is the ancestor, but Picus Zeus, i.e. Picus who is also Zeus. So here we have a definite tradition that the Spartan twins also, and not merely Romulus and Remus, are of woodpecker ancestry. This is interesting and important; the woodpecker cult is seen again to underlie the twin cult.

The name Ederion is a corruption of Aitherion, and suggests a relation with the sky.

P. 16. *Why is the Oak the Thunder-tree?*

Professor Fraser Story of the Forestry Department in the University College of N. Wales kindly informs me through Sir Oliver Lodge, as follows:—"That lightning strikes oak more frequently than any other species, is, I think, fairly well proved. Hess of Giessen, for example, had records kept over many years in a mixed forest where beech predominated. He found that the following were struck,

Oaks, 310.
Scots pine, 108.
Beech, 33.
Others, smaller numbers.

"Hellmann declares that the difference is even greater.

Oaks, 54.
Conifers, 15.
Beech, 1.

"My own observation quite confirms this. In North Germany one certainly sees many pines struck by lightning, but then it is the prevailing tree. In England, Oak, I should say, easily has the distinction."

P. 18. *The Thunder in Bird-form.*

Probably we should have expanded this brief summary of the chief animal representatives of Fire and of Thunder by some reference to the case of the Wren, which is a companion of the Robin Redbreast, and has a cult of its own, being hunted, captured, and sacrificed at the winter-solstice. A good account of the killing of the Wren in Brittany and elsewhere will be found in Swainson's *Folk-lore of British Birds*, from which I transcribe a few sentences:

P. 42. "This custom (of killing the wren) is undoubtedly sacrificial in its origin, *the wren, as lightning bird*, being *sacred to*

Donar, the lightning god. The time also of its celebration—at the commencement and end of the first twelve nights of the sun's return from the winter solstice—points in the same direction. Moreover, in North Germany, the squirrel is hunted at Easter (Wolf, *Beiträge*, i. 78), and Simrock (D.M. 553) tells us that in some parts of the same country a dead fox is carried about by the village boys at Midsummer. Both these animals, *from their red colour*, were under the protection of the same deity."

Both the wren and the robin were Fire-birds as well as Lightning-birds. The particular wren that provoked the identification may have been the crested wren, to whom Tennyson alludes in the lines:

> "Look, look, how he flits,
> The fire-crowned king of the wrens, from out the pine."
> Tennyson, *The Window.*

It will be noticed from the foregoing passage (a point which we have referred to elsewhere) that the squirrel is counted in with the Thunder and Lightning-animals.

The wren is a fire-bird amongst certain Australian tribes: see Dawson, *Australian Aborigines*, p. 52.

P. 22. *Thunder as Bird and Man.*

In Parkman's *Jesuits* (p. 156) there is a statement concerning the belief of the Hurons about the thunder; based on Brébeuf, *Relation des Hurons* (pp. 114 sqq.).

"Thunder is *a man in the form of a turkey-cock.* The sky is his palace, and he remains in it when the air is clear....The lightning flashes whenever he opens his eyes and closes his wings. If the storm is more violent than usual, it is because the young are with him, and aiding in the noise as well as they can."

That the significant point about the turkey-cock was his colour may be seen from another incident, also reported by Parkman, where a "renowned rain-maker (amongst the Hurons) seeing his reputation tottering under his repeated failure, bethought him of accusing the Jesuits, and gave out that the red colour of the cross which stood before their house scared the bird of thunder and caused him to fly another way." The Jesuits promptly had the cross painted white, and thus rid themselves of the suspicion that they had captured the thunder.

P. 35. *The Roman Cult of the Woodpecker.*

Plutarch, in his invaluable *Quaestiones Romanae* discusses the reasons for the peculiar sanctity of the Woodpecker among the

Romans (see Qu. 21): I quote the Elizabethan translation of Philemon Holland instead of the original.

"What is the reason that the Latines doe so much honour and reverence the Woodpecker, and forbeare altogether to do that bird any harme? Is it for that Picus was reported in old time, by the enchantments and sorceries of his wife, to have changed his owne nature and to be metamorphized into a Woodpecker, under which form he gave oracles, and delivered answers unto those who propounded to him any demand?

"Or rather, because this seemeth a meere fable and incredible tale: there is another storie reported, which carieth more probabilitie with it, and soundeth neerer unto trueth. That when Romulus and Remus were cast forth and exposed to death, not only a female woolfe gave them her teats to sucke, but also a certaine Woodpecker flew unto them, and brought them food in her bill, and so fedde them; and therefore haply it is, that ordinarily in these daies wee may see, as Nigidius hath well observed, what places soever at the foot of an hill covered and shadowed with oakes or other trees a Woodpecker haunteth, thither continually you shall have a woolfe to repaire. Or peradventure, seeing their maner is to consecrate unto every god one kinde of birde or other, they reputed this Woodpecker sacred unto Mars, because it is a couragious and hardy bird, having a bill so strong, that he is able to overthrow an oke therewith after he hath jobbed and pecked into it as farre as to the very marrow and heart thereof."

P. 36. *The Woodpecker named Hadad or Heddad in N. Africa.*

According to Wahrmund, the West African name for the Woodpecker is Hadad or Heddad, هداد. Professor Réné Basset, however, says that it should be spelt with a hard h, حداد, in which case the Woodpecker is called the Smith. Sometimes he is called, no doubt from his persistent hammering, the father of the smith: and Professor Réné Basset says that it is the black Woodpecker that is so described. He says: "En Kabyle et en Arabe, on donne le nom de ابو هد حداد à la charbonnière ou grosse Misanga (?). Je ne connais pas de forme هداد, qu'indique Wahrmund." It seems to me extremely likely that the smith was actually named after the Woodpecker from their common hammering: the connection with the thunder-god Hadad is extremely probable. Wahrmund's spelling may be taken from the *Dictionnaire Français-Arabe* of Boethos, 2nd edn., Paris 1882,

where on p. 601 we find هداد pic (oiseau): (Barbarie). For a parallel to the equation made above between the Woodpecker and the Smith, we may take this from the Philippine Islands: "the Spaniards call the Philippine Woodpecker Herrero or Blacksmith, on account of the great noise it makes with its bill in striking the trees, to be heard at 300 paces distance" (Latham, *General Hist. of Birds*, III. 351).

P. 38. *The Robin Redbreast as Thunder-bird.*

Mannhardt in *Roggenwolf*, p. 43, points out two curious German traditions which connect the Robin with the Thunder and Lightning. According to one, if the Robin builds its nest in a roof, the lightning will strike the house; according to the other, where Robins nest, the house is secure against lightning. Mannhardt compares the contradictory statements that when the lightning flashes, a thunderbolt falls in the house, and if there is a thunderstone on the hearth, the house will never be struck. In the case of the Robin, it is assumed that there is an *affinity between the bird and the thunder*, in consequence of this the thunder will strike or not strike the house where the thunder-bird is. Perhaps there may be a similar explanation of thunder-god and thunder-boys being thunderstruck, as Aesculapius or Jasion.

P. 48. *The Pomegranate (Rimmon) and the Thundergod (Rimmon, Ramman).*

The Pomegranate can be seen in sculpture on the top of the great Stele of Shamshi-Ramman in the British Museum.

When the Pomegranate is inverted it becomes a bell; and when we read in the Pentateuch that the High Priest's robe was bordered with alternate bells and pomegranates, this is only saying twice over that he carries the symbols of the Thundergod.

For Pomegranates on Pillars see some important observations by A. J. Evans in the *Journal of the Hellenic Society*, 1901, p. 144.

"We are expressly told of the brazen pillars set up by Solomon at the porch of the temple that they were provided with capitals adorned with a network of pomegranates and 'lily' shape....Free-standing columnar impersonations of the deity often supporting pomegranates are frequent on Carthaginian stelai[1]."

[1] Copied by me (A. J. E.) in the Museum at Carthage. Cf. Perrot and Chipiez, t. iv. Figs. 167, 168, pp. 324, 325.

It is difficult to deny that in these representations the pomegranate has a cult significance.

P. 91. *Red Colour and the Thunder in Australia.*

An interesting confirmation of the connection between these will be found in Mrs Aeneas Gunn's delightful book, the *Little Black Princess*, p. 6. "If you (a girl) had on a red dress when there was a thunderstorm, the Debbil-debbil who made the thunder would 'come on' and kill you 'dead-fellow....'

"This debbil-debbil is a funny sort of person, for although he gets furious if he sees a lubra (i.e. black girl) dressed in red, it pleases him wonderfully to see an old blackfellow with as much red as he can find. Do you know if this Thunder Debbil-debbil is roaring dreadfully and happens to catch sight of an old man with plenty of red handkerchiefs and scarves of red feathers tied round him, it puts him into such a good temper, that he can't help smiling, and then nobody gets hurt. But sometimes even a black fellow with yards of red stuff round him can do nothing to quiet this raging Debbil-debbil; then everybody knows that the lubras have been wearing red dresses. Such wicked selfish people deserve to be punished, and it is quite a comfort to think that very soon Mr Thunder Debbil-debbil will get hold of them and kill them dead-fellow. Of course if anyone gets killed by mistake, it will be their own fault, for they (should) have given all their red things to their husbands."

It is interesting to note the hostility between the thunder and the woman who wrongly tries to talisman herself by wearing red. A parallel custom is the exclusion of women from the ceremonies where the 'bull-roarer' is used.

P. 91. *Red for Thunder, White for Lightning.* Spencer and Gillen, *Across Australia*, 1912, II. 277—8. *Ceremonies of the Arunta Tribe.*

The *Waninga*, a banner-like structure consists of "central bar with one or two smaller ones at right angles to it and strands of strings so arranged as to form a flat expanded surface. Strands of human hair strings were strung lightly and as close together as possible....For the space of about an inch and a half up each side, indicated by a white band, the human hair string was replaced by opossum fur string whitened with pipe-clay. On the inner edge of this a band of the human hair string was red-ochred. The white transverse bands seen in the illustration as well as the bands on the bodies of the two performers, were

made of white down, and each end of the cross-bars, and the top of the spear, were ornamented with a tuft of the red-barred tail-feathers of the black cockatoo, a bird often associated with rain ceremonies, for the simple reason that, in Central Australia, a flock of black cockatoos always indicates the presence of a water-pool[1]."

"Each of the various parts of the Waninga has a special significance, but it must always be remembered when dealing with sacred objects such as this, or the Nurtinga, that the same decoration has different meanings in different totems.

On this particular Waninga, *the red string represented thunder, the white longitudinal bands lightning, and the black string rain falling.* The white down represented clouds, and the red of the feathers and also a number of wood-parings smeared with blood and worn on the heads of the performers, represented the masses of dirty brown froth which float on the top and gather on the sides of a stream in flood."

P. 91. *The Australian Bull-roarer painted red and white.*

Here is another case which points in the same direction. All students of anthropology know the importance in early culture of the rhombus, or bull-roarer, a piece of wood with pointed ends, which can be whirled round rapidly in the air by an attached string, so as to produce a peculiar and mournful sound. This toy of to-day was a part of the religion of primitive man, if we may judge of the prevalence of it among modern Australians, the Ancient Greeks and Anatolians, the modern Scotch-boy (who calls it a 'thunner-spell') and certain tribes of American Indians. Its close connection with the thunder comes out almost everywhere. Now the Department of External Affairs at Melbourne, Australia, has recently published a bulletin containing information with regard to the customs of certain tribes in the Northern territory. In this bulletin there is a detailed description of the annual initiation of the boys of the Larrakia tribe to the privileges and duties of manhood. In the course of the proceedings, "the men, four or five in number, who are to swing the bull-roarers, go away into the bush and paint themselves where they cannot be seen by the boys. The *bull-roarers are ornamented with alternate lines of red and white.*

[1] Quite unnecessary suggestion: the tail-feathers are enough to make a rain-bird without any adjacent pool.

They are called Bidu-bidu, and may on no account be seen by women, or by the uninitiated."

Here we have again the alternate striping of the thunder-toy, and are able to suggest a similar explanation to that which we have given above[1].

P. 93. *Twins in the Congo Region.*

My friend, John H. Harris, who has worked so nobly for the redemption of the Congo natives, has discussed the twin-problem briefly in his new book[2]. As Mr Harris is a first hand authority, I quote his statements on the Twin-question, leaving the reader to complete and correct them by the greater variety of information which we have collected. There is a fine photograph in the book of a pair of 'madukas,' on opposite sides of a forest road.

P. 69. "It is a mistake to assume, as some writers do, that the taboo on twins is a prevailing custom among West African tribes. The distribution of the taboo is extremely erratic. Twins are unwelcome in the Northern territories of the Gold Coast, yet the reverse is the case amongst the Egbas of Nigeria. In the Congo territories, twins cause the greatest joy to a tribe and the mother is lauded wherever she goes, whilst amongst the tribes of the oil rivers of Nigeria, the birth of twins is regarded as the most fearful calamity which can fall upon the community."

"In the Upper Congo regions, the traveller may frequently see two earthenware pots hoisted on forked stakes which have been driven in the ground, one on either side of the path, and these are in honour of twins born in the nearest compound. Every person passing by those pots will religiously pluck two leaves, and throw one at the foot of each forked pole as a votive offering to 'Bokecu' and 'Mboyo,' as all good twins are named...."

The formation of twin-towns in Nigeria is alluded to in the following words:

P. 70. "Not only are the children killed, but the mother is immediately driven from home....In some districts, however,... the mothers of twins are allowed to form isolated villages and to engage in trade. Some tribes, again, whilst driving them from the homes of their husbands, permit them to engage in agricultural pursuits upon the husband's lands."

[1] The document quoted is analysed in the *Manchester Guardian* for Sept. 10th, 1912. Through the courtesy of the President of the Department of External Affairs, I have been supplied with copies of these valuable and interesting reports.

[2] *Dawn in Darkest Africa.* London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1912.

P. 93. *The Sanctity of the Placenta.*

The following passage from Gurdon, *The Khasis*, p. 126, will show the importance which savage tribes attach to the preservation of the placenta.

"It is interesting to note that in the Barbar Archipelago between New Guinea and Celebes, the placenta is mixed with ashes, and put in a basket, which seven women, each of them armed with a sword, hang up on a tree of a peculiar kind....The women carry the swords for the purpose of frightening the evil spirits, otherwise the latter might get hold of the placenta and make the child sick. Mr C. H. Pleyte, lecturer on Indonesian Ethnology in the Gymnasium William III, at Batavia, who has most courteously furnished me with some interesting information on this subject, states that it is especially in the Southern Moluccas that the placenta is mixed with ashes and hung on a tree. Widespread is the custom of placing the after-birth on a small bamboo-raft on a river, 'in order that it may be caught by crocodiles, incarnations of the ancestors, who will guard it till the person to whom it has belonged dies: then the soul of the placenta is once more united with that of the dead man and together they go to the realms of the dead. During lifetime the connection between men and their placentas is never withdrawn.'"

P. 97. *Twins in Angola.*

We add here an interesting statement with reference to Twins in Bihé (Angola) from that charming missionary book by Mr Crawford, entitled *Thinking Black.*

P. 72. "Enters a young slip of a girl who has been beaten for no fault of hers, yet never a tear does she shed: no tears, mark you, and no crime did she commit. On plying them with questions, I find that far from her innocence being conjectured they bluntly admit she did nothing worthy of stripes. Yet she got them all, forty *plus* more, and the curiously candid confession is that because she was innocent therefore was she beaten with many stripes. It now comes out that the African can wriggle out of even this injustice, the explanation being that the girl is a twin, and as her sister did the deed they must be beaten in pairs; not either nor neither but both or none. Twins they were born, and twins they live and die. So mad are the Africans on this twin-subject that even when Miss First gets married, the bridegroom is forced to marry her twin-sister, Miss Second, on the same day. (Although these sisters are slim little things, yet literally their

names are Miss Elephant and Miss Hippo, all twins being forced to take these two traditional titles.) There was a case here where twin-brothers were forced to marry the same lady, so inexorably operates this dogging law. Right up from birth, each has ever haunted the other, their food being scrupulously divided into two, the twin bairns with twin portions.

"In proffering them a gift you must sternly make it a two-handed one, simultaneously holding out both arms to both recipients. When a twin sickens mortally no doctor may be called, nor any medicine administered, all moaning being deprecated. God, they say, did this deed of creating 'terrible twins,' and God must kill or cure them. The only way to wish them well is by cursing them, and these cursings the complacent twins receive as choice compliments. The hapless father and mother get likewise all the town abuse, each vituperation being a sort of upside-down blessing."

P. 109. *Twins among the Akikuyu.*

The statement about the Akikuyu can be supported and extended by a reference to Hildebrandt, *Ethnographische Notizen über Wakamba und ihre Nachbarn*: Z. für Ethn. x. 1875, where we find that "Children who are born in an unusual position, the second-born of twins, and children whose upper teeth appear before the lower, are...exposed by the Akikuyu."

Here nothing is said about repeated twin-birth: apparently the Routledges have misunderstood a statement about the second-born of twins, the extra child who makes the trouble. This explains also the sentence in which the Routledges speak of the bad luck attaching possibly only to the last one of a pair of twins.

P. 128. *Twins on Lake Chad.*

It appears that twins are considered lucky among the Buduna. In Olive Macleod's book, *The Buduna on Lake Chad*, it is stated that "a man gives his wife a cow at the birth of each child, and at the birth of twins prayers are offered, and there is great rejoicing."

The prayers suggest the averting of evil that may still be associated with the thought of twins.

P. 129. *Malagasy Superstitions* re *Thunder and Twins.*

While these pages are passing through the press, I have received a number of valuable notes from my friend Dr Standing,

who has discovered the Thunder-bird in the form of a cock, and has also come across a trace of the twin town. As these are very important additions to our knowledge, I transcribe some of his observations, with occasional reference to corresponding pages of the present work.

In the central province of Madagascar it is believed that when the lightning strikes it takes the form of a cock. (See pp. 27, 29.)

The primitive native houses of the better class were usually adorned with two long poles or "horns" over each gable. It was frequently the practice to place a small image of a bird near the end of each of these horns. (See p. 39.)

Twins are universally considered unlucky in Madagascar. It was formerly the practice to put one or both of them to death. The reason given by the Sakalava for killing girl twins is the fear lest, if allowed to live, they should again give birth to twins, and so perpetuate the ill-luck.

A boy and girl twin are considered specially unlucky, such infants being regarded as immoral. (See p. 173.)

The name Twin-town (Ambohikambana) certainly exists in Imerina, though I am unable, without further enquiry, to explain the origin of the name. (See pp. 56, 57, 317, 325.)

Eggs with double yolks are considered unlucky. I have found such offered in sacrifice at a sacred shrine. A similar superstition exists with regard to twin-fruits. A native woman admonished my wife not to eat a twin-fruit "lest she should bear twins." (See p. 129.)

P. 139. *The Peruvian Sons of Thunder.*

Brinton: *Myths of the New World.* New York. 1868. p. 152.

"Throughout the realm of the Incas the Peruvians venerated a creator of all things, maker of heaven and earth, and ruler of the firmament, the god of Ataguju. The legend was that from him proceeded the first of mortals, the man Guamansuri, who descended to the earth and there seduced the sister of certain Guachemines, rayless ones, or Darklings, who then possessed it. For this crime they destroyed him, but their sister proved pregnant, and died in her labour, giving birth to two eggs. From these emerged the twin brothers, Apocatequil and Piguerao. The former was the more powerful. By touching the corpse of his mother he brought her to life, he drove off and slew the Guachemines, and directed by Ataguju, released the race of

Indians from the soil by turning it up with a spade of gold. For this reason they adored him as their maker. He it was, they thought, who produced the thunder and lightning by hurling stones with his sling; and the thunderbolts that fell, said they, are his children. Few villagers were content to be without one or more of these. They were in appearance small, round, smooth stones, but had the admirable properties of securing fertility to the fields, protecting from lightning, and by a transition easy to understand, were also adored as gods of the Fire, as well material as of the passions.

"Apocatequil's statue was erected on the mountains with that of his mother on the one hand, and his brother on the other.

"In memory of these two brothers, twins in Peru were esteemed always sacred to the lightning, and when a woman or even a llama brought them forth a fast was held, and sacrifice offered to the two pristine brothers, with a chant commencing,

A chuchu cachiqui,
i.e. O thou who causest twins."

Brinton refers for the myth of Apocatequil to *Lettre sur les superstitions du Pérou*, pp. 25 sqq., and Montensinos, *Ancien Pérou*, chaps. II, XX.

P. 175. *Twin-Murder in Polynesia.*

Ellis states definitely that twin-murder, at least the destruction of one of the pair, was formerly common in Polynesia.

Polynesian Researches, vol. I. p. 251 (1832).

"The first missionaries have published it as their opinion that not less than two-thirds of the children were murdered by their parents. Subsequent intercourse with the people authorises the adoption of this opinion as correct. The first three infants, they observed, were frequently killed; and *in the event of twins being born*, both were rarely permitted to live."

P. 183. *The ill-luck of the twinning cow.*

This peculiar feature, which we discovered in the ancient Indian ritual, and of which traces remain in Wales and in S. Africa to-day, can also be paralleled in France. Sebillot reports in his *Folk lore de France* (III. 83): "Dans le bocage vendéen une vache qui a plusieurs veaux d'une portée, doit être vendue ou abattue, *pour détourner le malheur de la maison.*"

He referred to J. Baffie in *Le Chasseur Français* for June 1st,

1904; and Jehan de la Chesnoye in *Rev. des trad. populaires*, t. XVIII. p. 463; which I have not been able to verify.

P. 188. *The Nāsatiya as Beak-men.*

The following reference to Monier-Williams' *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (Oxford, 1899) will throw some light on the meaning of Nāsatiya.

"Nāsakya, any nasal sound:

dual, the two Asvins (= Nāsatyau) L:

.....

Nāsa-chinnī, feminine, a species of bird with a divided beak, L," where the reference to L (lexicographers) denotes a word or meaning, which, though given in native lexicons, has not yet been met with in any published text.

P. 192. *The Nāsatiya and the Hittites.*

For Winckler's discovery of the treaty (written in Babylonian) between the Hittites and Rameses the second, a summary statement may be found by Jeremias in Roscher, s.v. Ramman. The gods to whom reference is made in the treaty are described as follows:

ilani (!) mi-it-ra-si-il ilani u-ru-w-na-as-si-el
ilu (!) in-dar ilani na-sa-a (t-ti-ia-a) n-na,

upon which Jeremias notes:

"So! Mithra, Varuna, Indra (with determinative ilu as supreme god), and the Nasatiyai, i.e. the indogermanic supreme deities along with the Nasatiyai."

P. 193. *Kosmas and Damian on the Euphrates.*

The proof that Kosmas and Damian took charge of those who ventured into the rapids on the upper Euphrates, may be confirmed by the observation that they exercised a similar function lower down the stream at Zeugma, where the road to the East was carried across the river on a bridge of boats: from this form of transit the name Zeugma is derived. There is a difference, however, between the risks run by the traveller who comes down the rapids from Egin on a *Kellik*, and the traveller who merely crosses the stream in a ferry-boat (as to-day) or on a bridge of boats (as formerly). The risk in the latter case is less, but not to be neglected, especially when the great stream is in flood. So the Twins were appropriately invoked at Zeugma. It is interesting to notice that when Justinian took the Twins under his protection

at Byzantium, he also extended his care eastward, and rebuilt the sanctuary at Zeugma, which had fallen into decay. If we are right that this sanctuary at Zeugma is an ancient shrine of the Twins, at which travellers prayed when they crossed the stream, then we have one more centre of twin-cult in Asia Minor to add to those which we had already detected.

P. 201. *St Michael and the Twins on the Bosporus.*

As the traditions gathered up by John Malalas are of great importance in proving that St Michael displaces the Twins, and particularly Pollux, I have written a special article on the subject of Twins in Byzantium, which will appear elsewhere.

P. 214. *The Woodpecker as Boatbuilder.*

That the Woodpecker is a boatbuilder comes out in a curious Singhalese story, according to which a Kōrawaka bird once brought sacks of betel nuts, gave them to a flock of geese to carry, and to put on board a boat which he had borrowed from the Woodpecker. The boat collapsed, and since then the *Woodpecker has been searching for wood to make a new boat*, while the Kōrawaka bird has been wailing over the loss of his betel nuts. See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XXXIII. p. 230.

P. 219. *Beth Ṣaida as a place-name.*

We have indicated that the name can be best explained as the shrine of a god of fishing or hunting. It does not belong exclusively to the lake-shore. We find it not only in the trans-jordanic region, but even as far away as Adiabene the name can be traced, without any reason for supposing that it has been transplanted from the Gospels. Thus in the life of Sabrišo of Beth-Koka, published by Mingana, we find (p. 262) that a saint named Maran-Ammeh cured a woman, troubled with a demon, from Beth Ṣaida. No doubt other cases will be found. They can hardly all be reduced to the fishing category.

P. 220. *Sanchoniathon or Philo of Byblus.*

I have taken the text of Sanchoniathon, as transmitted by Philo of Byblus to Eusebius, without discussing the questions whether Sanchoniathon is mythical, or whether the legends are to be discredited. Sanchoniathon will probably survive the attacks made upon his existence and his integrity. For our purpose, the legends are almost as valuable, if they are from the

notebook of Philo of Byblus, as if they came from an earlier Phoenician author. We simply transcribe them and interpret them, leaving the question of their literary origin or form to be discussed, and, if possible, settled by other people.

P. 224. *The Theban Twins and the Argonauts.*

If Zetes the Boread, and his brother Calais, are not the same as Zethus and his twin-brother, it seems as if the framers of the Argonaut story had left out of their fabric a leading pair of twins. A reference, however, to Apollonius Rhodius will show Jason clothed in a robe upon which the Theban Twins are depicted, engaged in the building of the city[1]. They were not altogether forgotten; perhaps Apollonius Rhodius had been struck by their absence and adopted this method of including them.

P. 224. *The twin-builders of Athens.*

Miss Harrison has pointed out[2] that Athens, like Thebes, had a tradition of giant-builders. Pausanias described the fortification of the acropolis by the Pelasgians, under the direction of Agrolas and Hyperbios, who were said to have come from Sicily[3]. And it appears to be the same pair that are spoken of by Pliny, as having been the first to make brick-kilns and houses at Athens; Pliny calls them Euryalos and Hyperbios; and he adds the statement that they were brothers, which does not appear in Pausanias. The twins as brick-makers and city-builders have been sufficiently illustrated; it is interesting to compare what Sanchoniathon says on the point: first of all he tells us that Chrysor, who is Hephaestus, had brothers who invented the art of building walls with bricks. Then he talks of two youths, named Technites and Geinos Autochthon, who found out how to mix stubble with clay, and to bake the constructed bricks in the sun; they also invented the art of tiling. All of

[1] Apoll. Rhod. I. 736:

"And there were the sons of Asôpus' daughter Antiope set,
Amphion and Zethus: and Thêbê, with towers ungirded as yet,
Stood nigh them; and lo! the foundations thereof were they laying but now
In fierce haste. Zethus had heaved a craggy mountain's brow
On his shoulders: as one hard straining in toil did the image appear.
And Amphion the while to his golden lyre sang loud and clear,
On-pacing: and twice so great was the rock that followed anear."

(A. S. Way's tran.)

[2] *Primitive Athens*, pp. 24, 25.

[3] Pausanias, I. 28. 3.

the cases referred to appear to be cases of twin-cult; and if this be correct, Athens had a pair of twin-builders very nearly on the Theban model.

P. 229. *Jason and Triptolemos as Twins.*

We have shown in chap. XXII that the Twinship of Jason and Triptolemos comes out incidentally in the fact that their names are alternative designations for the names Castor and Pollux, by which two leading Zodiacal stars are known. We have several times pointed out that the Zodiacal Twin-cult is the last stage of a long evolution, and that the two stars referred to have inherited their dignity from the Morning and Evening Stars, considered as Twins. Probably this is just as true of Jason-Triptolemos as of Castor and Pollux, in which case Jason will be the Morning Star, and Triptolemos his double.

That we are not obliged simply to think of Triptolemos from the Attic point of view as the Holy Ploughman may be seen from another consideration. Philo of Byblus, as we have seen above[1], reports Sanchoniathon as saying that the descendants of the Dioscuri, having constructed rafts and ships, put out to sea; they were wrecked over against Mt. Cassius, and there they built a temple, which, as we have pointed out, must be a Dioscureion. Now we learn from Strabo[2], that the Antiochenes were in the habit of going up to this very mountain to hold a festival in honour of Triptolemos. We can hardly separate this from the Dioscuric centre of worship of which Philo Byblius speaks: in other words, Triptolemos is a Dioscure, and his companion can hardly be any other than Jason. The result is interesting: we have almost taken Jason into Phoenicia; at least we have found a Jasoneum in the Dioscureion on Mt. Cassius.

The occurrence of a Jason cult in the neighbourhood of Antioch is surprising from one point of view: for in Antioch itself the Twins were revered as Zethos and Amphion, as we see from the erection of pillars in their honour by Tiberius, and from the existence of a priest named Amphion, whose name was, no doubt, theophoric. We can, however, see in another way that the Jason cult must have been at home in Antioch, from the fact that Domitian, when founding a temple of Aesculapius, and building public baths for the city, dedicated the baths to Medea, and set up her statue. Where Medea is proved to have been honoured, we need not be astonished to find Jason also revered.

[1] p. 220. [2] p. 175.

We have now found the twins three times over at Antioch, viz.: as Amphion and Zethos, on Mt. Cassius as Jason and Triptolemos, and implicitly in Antioch itself through the Medea cult. It is reasonably certain that Castor and Pollux must also be added, either in Antioch or in Seleucia.

P. 235. *The Hebrew Plough-Myth.*

It may, perhaps, be suggested that the Hebrews, entering Canaan from nomadic life, had no plough-myth. Even if this were so, they would incorporate the plough-myths of the settlers who preceded them, who were certainly not exterminated, just as they appropriated other forms of Canaanite folk-lore.

P. 237. *The Holy Ploughs of the Scythians.*

It would, perhaps, be more correct to say that the golden ploughs, etc. were laid up in the king's palace, which has sanctuary rights in days before the formal priestly sanctuary has been evolved: at all events, the language of Herodotus suggests something of the kind, *τὸν δὲ χρυσὸν τοῦτον τὸν ἱρὸν φυλάσσουσι οἱ βασιλεῖς κτέ.*

P. 251. *The Edessan Pillars.*

As any one can see from consulting the photograph of these pillars in *Cult of the Heavenly Twins*, these pillars are too lofty to be incorporated with a temple, in the sense that they are part of its framework. It may be interesting to register a few cases of these double (and triple?) pillars in ancient worship.

We have alluded to Jachin and Boaz, the pillars in the Temple at Jerusalem: these were surmounted with capitals adorned with pomegranates, etc. The meaning of this is clear from the identification which we have made of the pomegranate (Rimmon) with the Thunder-tree. Of such columns supporting single pomegranates, there are examples in the museum at Carthage[1].

These pillars appear again in the ideal temple of Ezekiel ("pillars by the posts, one on this side and another on that side," Ezek. xl. 49).

A. J. Evans notes a similar feature in the worship of the Arcadian Zeus: "the great Arcadian Zeus, whose only shrine was the oak-woods of Mt. Lykaeos, otherwise found his material

[1] Perrot and Chipiez, t. iv. Figs. 167, 168, pp. 324, 325, and A. J. Evans in *Journal of Hellenic Society* for 1901, p. 144.

shape in the twin-columns that rose...in front of the mound that stood for his altar[1]." More exactly, the pillars were the material shape of the *Sons* of Zeus.

Then we have the pillars of the temple of Paphos, as shown on the coins; and a number of similar numismatic traces.

P. 251. *The Twin-Pillars at Antioch.*

For the erection of these Twin-pillars by Tiberius we have an important statement from John Malalas (x. p. 160) as follows:

ἔκτισε δὲ καὶ ἱερὸν τῷ Διονύσῳ πρὸς τῷ ὄρει ὁ αὐτὸς Τιβέριος βασιλεύς, στήσας δύο στήλας μεγάλας τῶν ἐξ Ἀντιόπης γεννηθέντων Διοσκούρων ἔξω τοῦ ναοῦ, εἰς τιμὴν αὐτῶν, Ἀμφίονός τε καὶ Ζήθου.

The description shows that the great Twin-pillars were in honour of the Theban Twins, that they were set up in front of a newly erected Temple of Dionysos, and that they were not, architecturally speaking, a part of that Temple.

P. 252. *The Double Translations in the Acts of Thomas.*

It is quite easy to show that the phenomenon of a double rendering, which meets us on the first page of the Greek *Acts of Thomas*, is characteristic of the whole translation. The instances are almost as frequent as the pages, and it is surprising that no one has noticed them. It would not be proper to take space in this book for making an exhaustive proof of the statement; we must defer such an extended demonstration to the Introduction that we are hoping to write to the Syriac Acts. The proof will be cumulative and convincing.

P. 255. *Judas Thomas in Priscillian.*

There can be no doubt that Priscillian identified the Jude of the Catholic Epistles with Thomas of the Fourth Gospel, and made him the twin-brother of the Lord. The whole passage is as follows. Priscillian (ed. Schepss, p. 44, l. 13):

"Ait Juda apostolus clamans ille didymus domini, ille qui deum Christum post passionis insignia cum putatur temptasse plus credidit, ille qui uinculorum pressa uestigia et diuinae crucis laudes et uidit et tetigit; prophetauit de his, inquid, septimus ab Adam Enoc, etc."

Priscillian had no difficulty in combining the two ideas, that Christ was divine, and that he had a human twin-brother!

[1] This is from Pausanias, VIII. 38, by way of Bötticher, *Der Baumkultus der Hellenen.*

P. 255. *On the likeness of Thomas and Jesus.*

Of the two classes of twins, to which we have made reference from the physiological point of view, one is marked by extraordinary resemblance between the twins; and it is this class of twin that furnishes material for the ecclesiastical novelist who wrote the *Acts of Thomas*. For an instructive parallel where the names as well as the forms show the parallelism, we may take the case of the twin-brethren of Clement in the *Clementine Homilies*, where Clement says (xii. 8):

"Caesar himself gave a wife of his own family to my father, who was his foster-brother; and of her three sons of us were born, two before me, who were twins and *very like each other*, as my father told me....Of my brothers, one was called Faustinus, and the other Faustinianus."

We may take as a parallel to these almost coincident names, the hagiologic Crispin and Crispian.

P. 258. *Aziz and Monim.*

Cumont, in *Les Religions Orientales*, p. 58, suggests that Aziz and Monim are commonly united in the inscriptions, and that they are fundamentally Arab.

"Azizos et Monimos—'Aziz et Moun'im—sont des appellations purement Arabes, inexplicable hors de l'Arabe...Azizos signifie le fort, le puissant, et Monimos le bon, le bienfaisant. Les deux personnages se trouvent souvent unis dans les inscriptions: le *deus Bonus Puer Phosphorus* ou *Azizus Bonus Puer* représente Azizos-Monimos et non Azizos seul." He means, if I understand him rightly, that there are two Aziz deities, one of whom is called Monimos: but is the equation Monimos = Bonus so certain?

P. 269. *Place-names in terms of the Lightning.*

We must examine carefully the names of places and people which may betray Dioscurism by reference to the Lightning or the Thunder. Cases like Bnē Baraq are obviously Dioscuric; but there are others where we cannot get beyond a suspicion. For example, there is a village near Aleppo, named El Buraq: is that a Lightning town? Mr Le Strange describes it in the following terms[1]: "There is a place of prayer where people go to pass the night; they will see in sleep one who will say, 'Thy healing will

[1] *Palestine under the Moslems*, p. 425.

consist in such and such a thing,' or the one who appears will touch the sick part."

Mr Le Strange does not seem to be aware that he is describing Incubation as it was practised in the temples of Aesculapius and the Dioscuri. It seems likely that the village in question was, in ancient times, a shrine of either Aesculapius or of his companions the Sons of Thunder. Amongst personal names we have already referred to Hamilcar Barcas; we might have coupled him with the Baraq of the Book of Judges. In the former case, it is generally explained as a term describing the rapidity of his military movements. A somewhat similar case is that of the Sultan Bajazet, who acquired the title of Yilderim, or "the Lightning," on account of his military prowess: Creasy, however, in his history of the Ottoman Turks[1], gives another explanation: he says that "according to some authorities it was from Bajazet's deadly rapidity in *securing his accession by his brother's death* that he acquired the surname of Yilderim." This is much nearer Dioscurism than the former explanation. There is, however, so far as I know, no evidence that the brother was a twin.

P. 270. *Twins in the Transjordanic Region.*

In the country on the other side of Jordan we find a number of suspiciously dual formations in the names of places, for which no explanation has as yet been forthcoming. Such names as Mahanaim, Diblathaim, Kiriathaim are certainly dual formations. Diblathaim is peculiarly interesting because it occurs in the form Beth-Diblathaim, which very commonly connotes a sanctuary. One's first impulse is to correct the form to Dilbathaim, and explain the name by Babylonian influence, and the use of the term Dilbat to describe the morning and evening stars. Unfortunately for this suggestion, the name Beth-Diblathaim is found on the Moabite stone, as well as in Jeremiah (xlviii. 22) and in Numbers (xxxiii. 47).

Kiriathaim is easier to handle: it is exactly twin-town, and has an existing parallel in the town of Kuryateyn, between Damascus and Palmyra. But this does not necessarily mean twin-town in our sense of the word.

P. 274, note, add:

The editors observe that the Two Brothers are presumably the Dioscuri.

[1] p. 51.

P. 280. *Inheritance in the Youngest Born.*

Among the Hos the youngest born male is heir to the father's property, on the plea of his being less able to help himself on the death of his parents than his elder brethren, who have had their father's assistance in settling themselves in the world during his lifetime.

(Lieut. Tickell in *Jour. As. Soc. Bengal*, IX. 794; quoted in Spencer: *Descriptive Sociology*, p. 11.)

P. 280. *The Rule of Inheritance among the Khasis.*

This custom has a curious parallel, as we have said, amongst the Khasis of Assam. Here "All land acquired by inheritance must follow the Khasi law of entail, by which property descends from the mother to the youngest daughter, and again from the latter to her youngest daughter. Ancestral landed property must therefore be always owned by women[1]. The rule among the Khasis is that the *youngest* daughter 'holds' the religion....Her house is called 'ka iing seng,' and it is here that the members of the family assemble to witness her performance of the family ceremonies. Hers is, therefore, the largest share of the family property, because it is she whose duty it is to perform the family ceremonies and propitiate the family ancestors."

P. 284. *Twin-apples calm the storm.*

The prayers that are chanted to the twin-apples are given by Sauvé in *Revue Celtique*, VI. 81 ff.:

"La race des charmeurs de vent n'a pas encore complètement disparu. Conjurer les effets de la tourmente la plus implacable est pour eux un jeu d'enfant s'ils ont eu la précaution de mettre en reserve deux pommes jumelles étroitement unies et ayant conservé le lien unique qui les tenait suspendues au même rameau. Si rare qu'elle soit, la chose n'est pas introuvable. Dès que le vent commence à souffler en tempête, on retire de bahut du chêne la petite boîte qui renferme le talisman et on la dépose sur la table. Au second coup de vent, on ouvre la boite, en faisant le signe de la croix. Au troisième coup, on regarde attentivement les pommes, et, si elles remuent quelque peu, on se hâte d'avoir recours à l'oraison que voici,

Vent effroyable et déchaîné,
Par toi tout sera bouleversé.
Ni dans la maison, ni au dehors,

[1] Gurdon, *The Khasis*, p. 82, quoted in Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, p. 385 note.

Sûreté ne sera si tu continues,
Et cependant, malgré tes menaces,
Nous avons ici contre toi remède.

Les assistants se passent alors de l'un à l'autre les deux pommes merveilleuses, puis reprennent en chœur :

Fruit bon et délicieux,
Vous commandez au temps
Aussi bien en ce pays qu'en tout quartier,
Aux champs vous avez été formé.
A la cime d'un arbre vous avez mûri,
Et toujours vous avez pu faire la loi
Au vent, si courroucé qu'il fût.

A ce moment, les pommes circulent une seconde fois dans toutes les mains, après quoi les voix s'élèvent de nouveau :

Au mois d'avril vous avez été en fleur,
Au mois de mai, vous vous êtes noué ;
Vous avez traversé juin, juillet
Sans éprouver d'aucun vent dommage,
Au mois d'août vous êtes devenue rouge,
En dépit du vent maudit,
Et en septembre, quand vous êtes entré,
Dans le main de l'homme vous vous êtes jeté.

Ici encore le talisman fait le tour de l'assemblée, et l'oraison se termine ainsi :

Maintenant donc que nous avons le bonheur
De vous posséder au milieu de nous,
Nous demandons en votre nom
A Saint Mathurin de Ponthon,
Que d'une tourmente si impitoyable,
Nous soyons comme vous préservés,
Notre maison, notre grange et nos étables,
Nos foins, le blé dans nos champs,
Si tous (ces biens) nous sont conservés,
Dans votre petite boîte vous serez renfermé.
Ainsi soit-il."

P. 290. *Judas Maccabaeus and the Dioscuri.*

If we have rightly shown that the Twin-children of the Thunder-god came to the protection of Judas Maccabaeus and the leadership of the revolting Jews, we have the interesting question raised, whether, in thus proving the persistence of the Dioscuric ideas among the Hebrew people, we have not found the clue to the meaning of the term Maccabee. The ancient interpretation of the word, as meaning Hammer or Hammerer, would be natural enough if Judas himself had been given a name implying the connection with the Heavenly Twins, as Hammerers

or Thunderers, and as having incorporated some of their potency in his own person.

P. 298. *Unity of Twin-Cult among Aryan peoples.*

The statement in the text, that the Aryan twin-cult should be regarded as a single cult, is premature, and the argument will require to be re-stated. It may be at once objected that even in Rome there are four separate twin-cults, Romulus and Remus, Castor and Pollux, Picumnus and Pilumnus, and perhaps Mutunus and Tutunus (not to speak of the Lares). It is not obvious that all these forms are reducible to a single origin. Why, then, it may be asked, should we assume parallelism between the Graeco-Roman worship of Castor and Pollux, and that of the Naharvali?

The answer appears to be that Tacitus, who may be assumed to be entirely free from the influence of our folk-lore speculations and deductions, has made the identification for us, from the evident similarities in the two rituals. Whether, then, the Aryan twin-cults are reducible to a single original form or not, the two cults that we have been discussing must be recognised as closely related.

P. 300. *Dioscurism in the District of Picenum.*

It is interesting to observe that, in the famous diptych of Rambona, which belongs to the province of Picenum, the crucifixion is actually bordered at the foot with a representation of Romulus and Remus and the Wolf!

P. 312. *The Leleges as Storks.*

Thompson (*l.c.*) says that Byzantios had already arrived at the equation between Leleges and Pelasgi. Creuzer also (*Symbolik*, III. 217) has suggested that the Leleges were storks. In discussing the statement of the Samian chronicler Menodotus that the temple of Hera at Samos was built by the Nymphs and the Leleges, he thinks that the mythical character of the story would be evident, if we could regard the Leleges as symbolically under the name of Storks!

P. 312. *Amphissa a Twin-Town.*

The recognition of Amphissa as a Twin-town can be confirmed in the following manner. The eponymous hero or founder of Amphissa is Amphissus, and if Amphissa is Twin-town, Amphissus should be a twin. Now according to the legends, Amphissus is the son of Dryope, whose father Dryops is the eponym of the Greek tribe the Dryopes, just as Amphissus is of the town

Amphissa. How, then, does Dryope become the mother of Amphissus? She is the daughter of Dryops, and Dryops is the Woodpecker. Of her Apollo became enamoured, and subsequent to her union with the god, she married Andraemon. We are expressly told that the result of her connection with Apollo was Amphissus. It is clear, then, that Amphissus was not only a twin, but a Heavenly Twin: and his mother was a woodpecker-maiden[1].

Almost every characteristic of the Twin-cult seems to be represented in the story of Dryope and Amphissus, Sky-parentage, Holy tree, and Sacred bird. We need have no further hesitation that Amphissus was a twin, and that Amphissa was a twin-town.

P. 318. *The Kabiri in Miletus.*

We have suggested that the worship of Apollo at Branchidae was superposed on an earlier twin-cult. It is interesting to observe that in Miletus the ancient rites of the Kabiri were kept up till Roman times. There is an inscription of the first century A.D.[2] in which a priest of the Kabiri prays the proconsul that the rites of these ancient deities may be kept up as aforetime:

Καικῖνα Παῖτος ἀνθύπατος
Μιλησίων ἄρχουσι χαίρειν.
Ἐνέτυχέ μοι Τίμων Μενέ-
στορος πολείτης ὑμέτερος,
ἱερεὺς θεῶν σεβαστῶν Καβίρων
αἰτούμενος τὰ προγονικὰ δί-
καια ἃ καὶ τοῖς πρὸ αὐτοῦ συνιε-
ρεῦσιν ἦν ἐξ ἔθους κτέ.

P. 320. *Apollo and Artemis.*

It may perhaps occasion some difficulty that we speak of Apollo and Artemis as being in the series of the Sons of Thunder, when one of them is feminine; and still more so when we suggest that at Delos they displaced a pair of Great Sisters, and not the Great Twin Brethren to whom we are most accustomed. How could a pair of such Sisters find a place in a Thunder-cult? And how could a Brother and Sister Thunder come into being? In this connection we may remind ourselves that there was a feminine Goddess of Thunder, as well as a Ζεὺς Κεραύνιος. Some-

[1] Not an oak-maiden, as A. B. Cook (*Folk-Lore* for 1904, p. 418) affirms, but an oak-bird.

[2] See Wiegand, *Sechster vorläufiger Bericht über Ausgrabungen in Milet und Didyma*, p. 26.

times the male and female Thunder are invoked together, as in an inscription in La Bas-Waddington (n. 2739),

κεχολωμένου τύχοι τοῦ Κεραυνίου·
ἄν τι[ς] βάλῃ κόπρια
κεχολωμένης τύχοι τῆς Κεραυνίας.
(See Usener, *Götternamen*, p. 36.)

P. 321. *Jason and Corythus.*

The reference given to Servius, identifying Jasius as the son of Corythus, while his twin-brother Dardanus is sprung from Jove, deserves a further investigation. For Corythus is the crested wren, and is a fire-bird, and probably a thunder-bird. We have explained that Jasius and Jasion are only modifications of Jason; so that Jasius is either Jason or his twin-brother. If, then, Corythus is the Crested Wren, we have struck a fresh line of tradition, in which the Thunder is no longer identified with the Woodpecker, but with a much smaller bird. That Corythus, like Picus or Keleos, was known as King, appears from the survival of his cult in the modern practice of hunting the Wren as King on New Year's day.

This raises a further question, more difficult to answer in our present state of knowledge. What does Dardanus mean? We find him intruded into the Twin-cult along with Jason, in the Aegean Sea, perhaps at Samothrace, or in the Troad. Is Dardanus also the Thunder? How is it to be proved, or disproved?

P. 326. *Jason and Triptolemos as Sons of the Woodpecker.*

A similar origin for Triptolemos to that suggested in the text is given in Creuzer, *Symbolik*, I. 152, from a *Mythographus Vaticanus*: "Eleusis civitas est Atticae provinciae, haud longe ab Athenis. In qua quum regnaret Celeus, et Cererem quaerentem filiam liberalissime suscepisset hospitio; illa, pro remuneratione, ostendit ei omne genus agriculturae; *filium eius Triptolemum*, recens natum, per noctem igne fovit, per diem divino lacte nutrivit."

Triptolemus is, in this writer's view, the son of the woodpecker; and we have already shown that the woodpecker is the Thunder, *passim*. Thus Jason and Triptolemus are a pair of Dioscuri or Boanerges. Now we see why the bright stars in the Zodiacal sign Gemini were known in certain quarters as Jasion and Triptolemus.

P. 328. *The Daughters of King Keleos.*

We learn from Pausanias (i. 38) that the first priestesses of Demeter at Eleusis were the daughters of King Keleos. They were named Μέλισσαι, i.e. Bee-Maidens. Here again we have the connection between the Woodpecker and the bees brought out. It is the feminine parallel to the Kuretes as the first Bee-farmers. It is lawful to conjecture that these priestesses of Demeter were, in the first form of the cult, twin-sisters.

P. 331. *Names of the Woodpecker.*

Dr Feilberg kindly sends me the following Scandinavian names for the Woodpecker.

1. *Denmark.*

Sortspætte = picus martius (p.m.)
grønspætte = picus viridis (p.v.)
gråspætte = picus canus (p.c.).

A popular name is Johan Lassen.

In Jutland.

flagspætte = flakspætte = flakstær (p.v.).

For all woodpeckers the name

trapikku.

2. *Norway.*

Spætr (Old Norse).
Spetta, trepikka, treklopp, vidkleppa, kakspjǫ̊t — Common names.
Grønspetta = p.v.
Gjerstruet, Gjertrusfugl = p.m. = (Gertrude's fowl).

3. *Sweden.*

Spått or Spett.
Skogsknarr.
Grønspett or grønspik, Gǫ̊ling or grøngǫ̊ling = p.v.
Spelkråka or Spillkråka = p.m.
(Also known as tråknarr.)
Hackspett or Hackspik.
Gjertrudsfugl = p.m. (?)

The foregoing are interesting in view of what we have already collected in Yorkshire and elsewhere.

For instance the Scandinavian *trepikka* is clearly the same as the Yorkshire *Pickatree*. The Swedish *hackspætt* answers to the English *hack* and *hatch*.

The forms *Specht* and *Speight* appear as *Spætt* and *Spik* in Scandinavian, which makes the fluctuations between *Speeton* and *Specton* intelligible, and shows in what direction we should look for the origin of the English name Speke.

Flagspætte and *Flakspætte* mean the *flecked* or *spotted* Woodpecker.

P. 332. *Beowulf the Woodpecker.*

It may be asked whether the recognition of the Woodpecker as the Bee-Wolf may not lead us to the solution of the hitherto unsolved riddle as to the appearance of the Wolf as auxiliary parent in the story of Romulus and Remus. May it not be an artificial double of the bird, with whom it actually appears on the Roman denarii? See the case figured by Miss Harrison, where the Twins and the Wolf in the foreground are accompanied by two Woodpeckers on the sacred tree (perhaps the Ficus Ruminalis) in the background. The objection to this explanation appears to be that the suckling wolf is a type that frequently recurs, with other animals, as mothers of exposed children; it would be unreasonable to imagine all these cases to be derived from the Roman Wolf: and if they exist independently, that Wolf belongs to that cycle of legend, and not to the woodpecker cycle.

P. 337. *Twins like and unlike.*

It is interesting to note the two divergent descriptions of the legendary twins in the same document; when Ovid describes the birth of Romulus and Remus, he says almost in the same breath that the twins are equal and similar and that Romulus is the better man of the two:

> "At quam sunt similes! at quam formosus uterque!
> Plus tamen ex illis iste vigoris habet."
>
> *Fasti*, II. 395, 396.

P. 352. *King Gargoris.*

It is not quite easy to attach an etymological meaning to Gargoris, but, perhaps, as he is the father of Bee-keeping, we may connect with γάργαρα = (swarms), and call him King Swarm. Etymologies are, however, treacherous things.

P. 352. *The Cymbals as bee-charm.*

Lucan tells us in his *Pharsalia* (IX. 287 sqq.) that bees are chidden by the noise of the Phrygian brass and stopped from further flight; the reference to the noise made by Phrygian brass is evidently to the cymbals of the Korybants in the worship of the Phrygian Great Mother. I do not, however, add this to the passage in Vergil, because Lucan is an imitator of Vergil and may have borrowed the figure from him. His exact language is as follows:

> Phrygii sonus increpat aeris,
> Attonitae posuere fugam, studiumque laboris
> Floriferi repetunt et sparsi mellis amorem.

P. 354. *Survival of Twin Fear in Mediaeval France.*

A curious case of the survival of Twin Fear, and of the explanation of twins by the supposed infidelity of the mother, will be found in one of the lays of Marie de France, entitled "Le Fraisne," or "The Ash-Tree." The original text may be found in Suchier, *Biblioteca Normannica*, vol. III, pp. 54 sqq. The story opens by relating how two nobles lived near to one another, and the wife of one of them brought forth twins. At this the second lady was envious, for she had no child, and she commenced to slander the more fortunate mother of twin-boys. Having thus damaged her reputation, about a year later she herself produced twin-girls, and to avoid the reflex of her own thought, one of the girls she sent away and exposed in an Ash-Tree, at the gate of an Abbey. Here she grew up under pious care, and is known as Miss Ash. The story now lends itself to some pleasing matrimonial confusions. It can be read in English in a translation by Eugene Mason in Everyman's Library. The opening sentences of the French poem are as follows:

Le Fraisne.

> En Bretaigne jadis maneient
> dui chevalier: veisin esteient.
> Riche hume furent e manant,
> e chevalier pru e vaillant.
> Prochein furent, d'une cuntree.
> Chescuns femme aveit espusee.
> L'une des dames enceinta.
> Al terme qu'ele delivra,
> a cele feiz ot dous enfanz.
> .....
> Ele parle mult folement,
> e dist oant tute sa gent:

'Si m'ait deus, jo m'esmerveil,
u cist prozdum prist cest cunseil,
qu'il a mandé a mun seigneur
sa hunte e sa grant deshonur,
que sa femme a eüz dous fiz.
E il a elè sunt huniz.
Nus savum bien qu'il i afiert:
uniques ne fu ne ja nen iert
ne n'avendra cele aventure,
qu'a une sule porteüre
une femme dous enfanz ait,
se dui hume ne li unt fait.'

P. 362. *Wide diffusion of Jason Cult.*

The language of Strabo in reference to the prevalence of the Jason cult in Asia Minor is certainly remarkable. It is possible that he has included the Dioscureia in the Jasoneia, where we should have reversed the order. As to the actual existence of such cult-centres we have the evidence of Trogus (42, 3) that almost everywhere in the East divine honours were given to Jason, but that Alexander the Great, or his lieutenant, suppressed the shrines:

"itaque Jasoni totus ferme Oriens ut conditori diuinos honores templaque constituit, quae Parmenion, dux Alexandri Magni, post multos annos dirui iussit, ne cuiusquam nomen in Oriente uenerabilius quam Alexandri esset"!

P. 381. *The Bull-roarer in W. Africa.*

Mr P. Amaury Talbot, who is in the Nigerian Political Service, describes in his book *In the Shadow of the Bush* the country of the Ekoi tribes and their customs. On p. 284, in describing the secret societies of the natives, he tells us that in some clubs, the Enyara Akum, the dark things of the clubs, i.e. bull-roarers, are used. These were formerly only played in secret; no woman was allowed to see them, or know the cause of the sound. "My wife," he says, "and her sister were the first women in this part of the world to whom the much prized secret was disclosed."

The parallel with the Australian custom and its secrecy is very close.

As the bull-roarer is connected with the thunder-cult it is interesting to note that, on p. 14 of the same book, the author remarks the occurrence of the double-axe among the Ekoi symbols.

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